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THE *Nation*

A.N.C.

March 8, 1952

Some Plane Facts

BY LEONARD ENGEL

Lattimore Fights Back

Four Pages of Testimony

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 174 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 8, 1952 NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

IF PRESIDENT TRUMAN WAS SINCERE IN saying a few weeks ago that he did not like the Franco regime, he should like it even less today. The scandalous trial of the strike leaders of Catalonia, which provoked a storm of indignation throughout Europe, has been followed by word, not yet officially confirmed, that the death sentences against nine of the thirty defendants have been carried out. It is significant that most of the condemned men belonged to the anti-Communist National Federation of Labor (C. N. T.). In a great protest meeting in Paris called by organizations and individuals representing widely diverse political views, speeches were made by Camus, Silone, Sartre, and other outstanding intellectuals. Sartre said: "How can we claim to be democrats if we remain silent in the presence of Spain—this concentration camp of the Western democracies?" In London the opening of the festival of Spanish dances and songs under the auspices of Spain's ambassador, Miguel Primo de Rivera, was converted into a demonstration of protest, the crowd shouting "Down with Franco the Murderer." Among the many organizations protesting strongly against the new wave of terror in Spain, of which the recent death sentences are only a sample, is the International Federation of Free Trade Unions at Brussels, to which both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. adhere. We hope American labor will join in this public condemnation of a regime to which our government is daily drawing closer in spite of Mr. Truman's expressions of platonic disapproval.

*

A SOLID PHALANX OF SOUTHERN SENATORS backed by exactly half the Republicans present succeeded on February 28 in blocking further progress on the Alaska statehood bill. By a majority of one the measure was returned to committee so that consideration could be given to a fantastic plan for "dominion status." This scheme, which is almost certainly unconstitutional, would allow Alaskans to vote in Presidential elections, to have a representative in the House, and to elect one non-voting Senator. Strangely enough, this cynical proposal to preserve intact the veto powers of the Southern bloc was supported by Senator Taft, who argued that Alaska was still an "economic dependency" of the federal government and that the 1948 Republican platform had merely promised "ultimate" statehood. However, the Ohioan joined with Senator Knowland in seeking to have the Hawaiian statehood bill taken up as next business, thus giving point to Senator O'Mahoney's charge that he was "on both sides of the statehood question." That seems to be true of other Senators, including Majority Leader McFarland, who supports the Alaska bill but has been using every possible parliamentary maneuver to head off the Hawaiian measure. Thus the aspirations of both territories are being made the football of party politics. It may be that neither will succeed in casting off the shackles of colonialism until their inhabitants make it clear that if they cannot obtain full statehood, they will demand independence.

*

AN ATTEMPT TO INCREASE TAXES TO PAY for defense has proved the downfall of the government headed by Edgar Faure as it did of its predecessor. This does not mean that a majority of the French Assembly is hostile to rearmament. When the Premier asked for a vote of confidence on a resolution providing credits for the French contribution to NATO and for the Indo-China war, he secured a majority of 512 to 104. Nevertheless, a few hours later his plan to increase taxes was defeated by 309 to 283, and his resignation followed. M. Faure fought hard to achieve a balanced budget. "If you refuse your confidence," he told the deputies, "you will be favoring inflation, which is the highest and unfairest form of tax"—an economic truism with which the French people have become painfully familiar. Nevertheless, the pressure of special interest groups adversely affected by one or another of the tax proposals moved some thirty of Faure's fellow Radical Socialists and numerous members of the Independent and Peasant parties to join forces with the more or less permanent opposition composed of Communists and Gaullists. The collapse of yet another effort to maintain a stable centralist coalition revived the idea of a Government of National Union, comprising all major groups except the Communists. However, when the veteran Paul Reynaud sought to organize a Cabinet of this kind, he found the way blocked by the unwillingness of the Socialists to cooperate with the anti-labor

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and anti-republican Gaullists. Nor would the Gaullists participate in a government which excluded the Socialists, which suggests that their aims are such that they wish to sterilize in advance any non-Communist opposition.

*

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE QUICKLY IF internal and external insolvency is to be avoided. French foreign-exchange reserves are now so low that an embargo on all dollar imports may become necessary, cutting off industry from supplies of raw materials. Moreover, advances from the Bank of France to the Treasury are nearing the limits fixed by law, and the next government may find itself without funds to pay salaries and other bills. Nevertheless, it is hardly correct to describe the French economic situation as "tragic"—the expression used by former Premier Paul Reynaud during the Assembly debate. The agriculture and industry of France are highly productive, and as the country is still largely self-contained, its economic position is fundamentally less precarious than that of Britain. French troubles are not organic but nervous. Chronic mishandling of finance has led Frenchmen to hoard wealth instead of using it productively. Tucked away in safe hiding places they own billions in gold and dollars—more than enough to give France one of the strongest economies in the world. But these hoards will not see the light of day until France has a stable government and a balanced budget. Neither of these objectives is in sight, and it may be that they will not be achieved without some kind of political explosion.

*

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY and Mexico under which Mexican nationals are recruited for employment here has been extended for three months to give Congress time to consider new legislation for reducing the traffic in illegal or "wetback" immigrants. A similar "emergency" extension, followed by protracted "hearings," was used last year to jockey the Mexican government into consenting to a continuance of the agreement before the terms had been fully approved. Last year more than 518,000 illegal entrants were arrested, 7 per cent more than in 1950, and some 50,000 of them were "air-lifted" back to Mexico at a cost of $1,500,000. Even should Congress enact pending legislation aimed at curbing the wetback traffic, the damage will have been done, for by the end of the three-month period the new season will be under way, and further extensions will be in order. As a hedge against the possibility that Mexico will refuse to extend the agreement, the Associated Farmers of California have opened negotiations with the South Korean government. According to H. W. Stroble, secretary-treasurer of the

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Associated Farmers, the importation of South Korean workers would reduce the cost of caring for the Korean people and would give at least some of them a chance "to see how democracy works." How Mr. Stroble thinks a democracy ought to work was clearly exposed in the report of the 1940 LaFollette investigating committee on the smashing of the Salinas lettuce strike in 1936, a semi-military maneuver directed with great skill by Mr. Stroble.

*

"VENEZUELA SHOULD JOIN THE COUNTRIES Which Work Their Own Oil," reads a recent headline in *El Universal*, leading daily of Caracas, capital of a dictatorship in which anything written about oil can hardly escape censorship by the ruling Junta. Moreover, the opinions quoted in the article are those of Venezuela's chief oil expert, Dr. Ezequial Monsalvo Casada of the University of Caracas, who in 1949 was a member of a diplomatic oil mission abroad. Thus the shadow of Iranianism falls across the holdings of Standard Oil and Shell on the shores of Lake Maracaibo, the world's biggest single oil-export area. Dr. Monsalvo argues that Venezuela has enough competent man-power—much of it schooled in Texas and Oklahoma petroleum institutions—to run its own oil industry and urges nationalization in three steps: (1) action "to repair the grave injustice" of the present practice of refining all Venezuelan crude in the neighboring Dutch islands of Aruba (Standard Oil) and Curaçao (Shell Oil); (2) building up of Venezuela's own tanker fleet; (3) "the exploiting companies must drag out by the roots the colonial prejudice with which they still regard us and treat us." This is a large order, especially—as Iran has already found out and as Dr. Monsalvo undoubtedly is aware—the building up of a tanker fleet. It is a fairly safe bet that Dr. Monsalvo and the Junta are interested not in nationalization but in dangling the threat of it before Shell and Standard in order to wangle better terms. But it is a dangerous threat to use, for regardless of whether the oil companies take it seriously, one day the people of Venezuela might. Where will the Junta be then?

*

IN A SERIES OF AMUSING EDITORIALS, William T. Evjue, editor-publisher of the Madison *Capital-Times*, has been lambasting the latest political shenanigans of the National Association of Manufacturers. The N. A. M. is not only sponsoring a coast-to-coast chain of "workshops" and "clinics" on "freedom" but going in heavily for "old-time" religion. A recent pamphlet entitled "Christianity and Capitalism" develops the thesis that Christian ethics can flourish only in the friendly and altruistic environment of a capitalist society. The same theme runs through the publications of many religious "fronts" active in the Middle West, such as the Christian Freedom Foundation and the American Council for Christian Laymen—the latter run by Verne P. Kaub, recently retired from the public-relations office of the Wisconsin Power and Light Company and a member of the advisory board of Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education. Individual corporations, such as the Texas and Pacific Railway, are harmonizing with the religious note through full-page newspaper advertisements which drive home "sound" economic principles under the guise of an "institutional" religious message. All this has emboldened the Republican National Committee to hire, for the first time in its history, an official party chaplain. He is the Reverend W. H. Alexander of Oklahoma City, who claims that the Lord gave him direct orders to be a candidate for the United States Senate in 1950. "I will do my best," he told the press after the announcement of his new appointment, "to win a victory for Christian America." The "Christian American" section of the Republican National Committee intends to use Mr. Alexander in small towns and rural areas where the "old-time" religion is still strong. As Mr. Evjue suggests, the N. A. M. and the Republican high command are out to prove that the Lord is a Taft Republican.

*

SOUTHERN REACTION TO THE FBI ARREST OF the ten Klansmen in North Carolina has been encouraging. From the governor's mansion in the Tarheel state, Kerr Scott said, "I think people all over the state are pretty happy about the arrests," and the mayor of Tabor City in Columbus County—where the arrests occurred—declared that "Columbus County is just like the rest of the nation, and we feel that there is no place for this outlaw action. Any organization that tries to break up democracy is riding for a fall." Superior Court Judge Henry A. Grady of New Bern, North Carolina, who was the state's Grand Dragon of the KKK when it was disbanded some twenty-five years ago, commented, "There is no place in North Carolina for the Ku Klux Klan . . . if those fellows are guilty, I think they ought to suffer the severe penalty of the law." Elsewhere throughout the South similar editorial and civic commendation for the government's swift justice appeared. William G. Cole, editor of the Whiteville *News Reporter*, and the Reverend T. C. Gant, Baptist pastor, warmly applauded the event. Other publications, such as the Charlotte *Observer*, the Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*, the Richmond, Virginia, *Times-Dispatch*, and the Atlanta, Georgia, *Journal*, also favored the federal police action. Perhaps this small measure of positive news from a South so recently shamed by racist outrages in Florida and Texas might provide the United States Department of Justice with the incentive needed to bring the perpetrators of the Moore murders before our courts of law.

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Lattimore Strikes Back

OWEN LATTIMORE spoke for all free-minded Americans when he launched his lusty counter-attack on the McCarran Internal Security subcommittee. Indeed, he did better than that, for his testimony must have put heart into many Americans who have been cowed by the campaign of insinuation, bullying, and slander conducted from the privileged sanctuary of House and Senate hearings. It takes courage these days to march into battle bearing the weapons of outraged patriotism and a clear conscience; too many of those attacked have been reduced by fear to humble protestations of innocence or apologetic alibis. Lattimore is a man, not a frightened bureaucrat. And if his blazing indignation led him into small inconsistencies or lapses of memory, the broad truthfulness of his testimony remains undamaged.

But Owen Lattimore, besides proving that courage still breathes in America, has performed another major service. He has challenged the courts to test the accuracy of the charges against him, and his own honesty. The McCarran committee, like the House Un-American Activities Committee, has welcomed the testimony of the most suspect witnesses—men and women processed by the Communist Party machine who have recanted and turned state's evidence. The reputations of high government officials and other citizens of standing have been laid waste by a word from such witnesses. Undoubtedly the conviction of Hiss helped spread the feeling that denunciations by informers constitute valid proof. Their power has been further fortified by the backing they have had from committee members and counsel, from Joseph R. McCarthy, and from outside pressure groups like the China Lobby. The result, as the New York *Times* said last Saturday, has been to build up "a corrosive atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion throughout the country and particularly within the government of the United States."

We have seen the by-products of this evil business in the growing timidity of officials in Washington and the foreign service. In the name of "Americanism" the Congressional inquisitors have deliberately undermined the nation's integrity and effectiveness and diminished us in the eyes of democrats in all countries. Panic is not the full explanation of this miserable business. It stems largely from crude motives of political advantage, exaggerated by the oncoming Presidential contest.

The methods of the various Congressional loyalty inquiries have nothing to do with "security"; on the contrary they dangerously distort the whole question by making security procedures appear synonymous with police-state techniques. This distortion and its evil results Professor Lattimore has challenged. No doubt he has done so in his own behalf, but if the committee succeeds in catching him in a misstatement they think might be construed as perjury, the bigger issue also will be fought out where it should be—in a court of law with proper democratic safeguards. And if he wins a victory there, it not only will clear his name but will defeat the plans of McCarthy, McCarran, and Company to bring down bigger game than Lattimore. For without question their real targets are Ambassador Jessup and Secretary of State Acheson—and through them the Administration as a whole.

It is in the context of these broad political purposes that we present the sections of the Lattimore testimony which follow.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

EXCERPTS FROM HIS TESTIMONY

On "Perjurer" Budenz

ALL kinds of attempts have been made to depict me as a Communist or a Soviet agent. I have in fact been falsely identified as a fellow-traveler, sympathizer, or follower of the Communist line or promoter of Communist interests. Now I want to make my position clear. I am none of these things and have never been. . . .

One of the most shocking things that has happened in the proceedings is that not one of the witnesses against me has ever been asked in examination or cross-examination a question that would test his motives or his reliability. Most shocking in this respect has been the suppression or at least the bland ignoring of evidence already of record. The counsel of this subcommittee, Mr. Morris, was the counsel of the Republican minority of the Senate subcommittee on Foreign Relations (the Tydings committee) and therefore had intimate knowledge of this record evidence. It has also been widely reported in the press. I will cite just one example, a rather striking one—that of Louis F. Budenz.

The proceedings of the Tydings committee show that Budenz's accusations of me before that subcommittee were a complete fabrication concocted for the specific purpose of his appearance there. They show (1) that until he was recruited to tell his fantastic yarn Budenz never mentioned me to the FBI despite hundreds of hours of testimony (transcript, p. 1116); (2) that in 1949 when he wrote an article for *Collier's* denouncing many persons for their participation in the Chinese situation, Budenz

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made no mention of me (transcript p. 1096); (3) that when he published a book in 1950 dealing with the same subject, he made no reference to me in his manuscript, inserting a passing mention only after I was publicly attacked by Senator McCarthy. All of this material was available to your committee, and your counsel, Mr. Robert Morris, was thoroughly familiar with it, but not one syllable of it was entered in your record, nor was Mr. Budenz asked a single question concerning it. . . .

In connection with this man Budenz, Senators, I call your attention to the fact that the personal history and character of Louis Budenz was thoroughly gone into in the hearings before the Tydings committee in 1950.

I exposed him as a liar before the Tydings committee. Since then a distinguished newspaperman, Mr. Joseph Alsop, has publicly challenged him as a perjurer, and has demanded of this committee that the record of Budenz's testimony be sent over to the Department of Justice for examination to see whether he should be prosecuted for perjury. . . .

On Freedom of the Press

I want to say clearly that in my own work as editor of *Pacific Affairs* [official publication of the Institute of Pacific Relations] from 1934 to 1941 I was not dominated or directed or influenced in any way by Communist or pro-Communist people or attitudes. *Pacific Affairs* was not an American publication. It was an international publication. . . .

I call your attention to my analysis of *Pacific Affairs* during the years I edited it which appears on pages C 1 to C 5 of my statement of May 2, to the Tydings committee, which I have just handed to you, and from which I wish to quote a few paragraphs.

> May I remind you that throughout this period there was nothing reprehensible or even unusual about the occasional publication of significant left-wing views or the analysis of left-wing movements in Far Eastern countries? Such views and analyses appeared in all the leading journals of the United States and the whole Western world. In those days, before Kohlberg, McCarthy, and Budenz undertook to revise the American tradition of free inquiry and free speech, nobody dreamed of accusing an editor or publisher of being a Russian spy because such views were printed.
>
> I have made a new tabulation for you of all material published in *Pacific Affairs* under my editorship. Of a total of 250 contributions, only 17—written by 11 persons—could possibly be called, by anyone, left of center because of facts or opinions favorable to Russia, Chinese Communists, guerrillas, or leftist movements in Asia. Remember this was an international magazine. Ninety-four articles were definitely right of center, and 143 either dealt with non-political and non-economic subjects or presented purely neutral points of view. There was nothing even remotely like a "mobilization" of Communist or leftist writers.
>
> I would also like to point out that the same 11 people who contributed the 17 articles I have mentioned as representing left-wing positions contributed, during the same years, a total of at least 204 articles to reputable non-Communist periodicals, including the *Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, Literary Digest, American Mercury, Fortune,* and the *Atlantic Monthly*. . . .

By promoting the publication and discussion of important facts and opinions the I. P. R., in my opinion, was making and is still making a valuable contribution to our shockingly meager information about the Far East. To use political intimidation to curtail or eliminate the free market of facts and ideas to which the I. P. R. has contributed would be a catastrophe to the best interests of this country.

In a free country the discussion of foreign policy cannot be monopolized or patrolled by the government. The people of a democracy and the officials who handle foreign policy in the government need to be able to draw upon a wide field of academic and private research, done by people who are not subject to bureaucratic controls. It is right that the Congress should interest itself closely in both the issues and the conduct of foreign policy, but it is not right that the Congress should make itself the censor of academic research and personal opinion. . . .

On a Strong State Department

I believe that it is as important to the welfare and safety of this country to have a strong State Department and an able foreign service in our diplomacy as it is to have effective military forces. I believe that the usefulness of our foreign-service personnel has already been jeopardized by the work of this committee—both directly by attacks on irreplaceable personnel and indirectly by impairing the confidence of the nation and our foreign allies in our State Department and by instituting a reign of terror among our foreign-service personnel.

First, as to the direct injury: it is a fact that almost all the few men with outstanding experience and knowledge of China have already either been eliminated from the Department of State or are working in other parts of the world, in the hope of keeping them out of the line of fire of a bitterly partisan political fight and out of range of the venom of men who are determined to find evil where none exists.

The three outstanding examples of men sacrificed to the hysteria that has been whipped up in this country by the China Lobby—a hysteria to which this committee, I am sorry to say, is contributing—are John Stewart

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Service, O. Edmund Clubb, and John Carter Vincent. Any one of these men would have been capable of holding, in our Far Eastern policy, the kind of respected position that is held with regard to Russian policy by George Kennan; but where are they now? . . .

Each of these men is a loss to the State Department—and there are few men of the same caliber left. The indirect damage to the conduct of our diplomacy is even greater. The more politically controversial our problems of diplomacy are, the more vital it is that the experts in the State Department should be able to discuss them fully, frankly, and without fear, and should be free to consult with academic experts. But we have reached a point of general intimidation at which our diplomatic representatives must feel under great pressure to report back to Washington only what it is safe to report, and make only those policy recommendations that they feel sure will not result in political attacks on their careers.

I am reminded, Senators, of something that once happened to the Russians. In 1939 they invaded Finland, sure that they were going to have a walkover, but suffered serious military defeats and tremendous damage to their prestige. Does anybody doubt that this was because political intimidation had made yes-men of the Soviet diplomats reporting to Moscow? Communist doctrine and the party line required them to report that the Finns were groaning under bourgeois-capitalist oppression and would welcome the Russian invaders. They dared not report the truth: that the Finns were a democratic people, willing to fight against even the Russian colossus in defense of their liberties. The consequence was that Russia walked into a booby trap.

The anger of the American people will be great, Senators, if the political reporting of the State Department degenerates to this point because of political persecution, intimidation, and the demand that the China Lobby be empowered to lay down a line to the State Department. What booby traps is the China Lobby laying on the road ahead of us? . . .

On Harold Stassen

In 1949 I was invited by the State Department with about thirty other people to take part in a discussion of Far Eastern policy; and as part of the preparations for that discussion I contributed—also on invitation—a memorandum of my views. To the best of my recollection this is the only time, in more than twenty-five years, that the State Department has asked me for my views.

For the purpose of discrediting the Far Eastern policy of the present Administration, and presumably to keep himself in the newspapers as a perpetual Presidential candidate, Mr. Harold Stassen has attempted to make me the scapegoat of this conference.

Mr. Stassen accused me of leading, at this conference, a "prevailing Lattimore group" which advocated a Communist line. He then described a "ten-point program" which he claimed I had advocated. Mr. Stassen obviously did not expect the record of the conference would be made public. Accordingly, he let his imagination run riot and attributed to me all the opinions expressed at this conference with which he disagreed, and some that he just imagined.

As soon as I learned of Mr. Stassen's statements I appealed to the State Department to release the full record of the conference. I publicly asked Mr. Stassen to join me in this request, which he did not do.

As soon as I could obtain a transcript of my remarks I released it to the press, and later the full transcript of the entire conference was released. You have that in your files, and I ask you to check it against what I say here. This transcript clearly showed that I had not advocated *any* of the ten points which Mr. Stassen had so irresponsibly labeled as a Lattimore program. . . .

In his second hearing, after the full record had been released, Mr. Stassen backtracked. He did not, of course, admit error. That would have been out of character for a Presidential candidate. . . . A member of this committee did his best to help Mr. Stassen. As "evidence" Mr. Stassen cited the fact that I made the not very brilliant or original remark that there was a "new situation" in Asia.

"That meant the recognition of Communist China, doesn't it?" asked Senator Smith, eagerly coming to his aid. "That is right," said Stassen.

How much more silly can the part-time president of a great university get? . . .

On ex-Communist Wittfogel

I turn now to the ex-Communist, Karl August Wittfogel. In his testimony Wittfogel tried to create two impressions—that in the early years of our acquaintance we were friendly with each other on the basis of mutual Communist sympathies, and that after he finally stopped being a Communist, in 1939, he broke off relations with me. Both of these pictures, drawn by Wittfogel's inventive hindsight, are maliciously false. . . .

The flimsy statements by which Wittfogel attempted to show that I knew he was a Communist are complete nonsense. The chief one is a story that in my presence Dr. Woodbridge Bingham had asked him if he had ever been a Communist and he said no. He then tried to suggest that I flashed him a smile implying that I knew that what he really meant was that he *was* a Communist. The truth is that I have not the faintest recollection of this whole conversation, but if I smiled at all, it was certainly a non-Communist smile. Now I would be willing to be-

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lieve that Communists have an arsenal of secret signals, but I would never suppose that it included anything as good-natured as a smile. In fact, I thought that these grim conspirators regarded a smile as a bourgeois gesture—practically as an enemy of the state. If I am wrong, and if a smile is a secret red signal, I confess that I used to smile a great deal. In the pre-McCarthy days I used to think that life was lots of fun.

Wittfogel also made the ridiculous assertion that the fact that I used the terms "feudal" and "feudal survival" in describing Asiatic societies showed that I was a Communist. His claim that these terms are nothing but litmus papers for telling Communists from non-Communists is ridiculous. . . .

If the use of terms like "feudal survival" is a test of communism the following quotation may be of interest. It is from the *American Anthropologist,* July-September, 1951, p. 403, and is from a review of a book about Japan: "But here [in Japan] as in Germany, industrialization was so late and so rapid that many feudal elements survived."

The author who thus uses the hideous and forbidden expression "feudal elements" is Esther S. Goldfrank (Mrs. Karl August Wittfogel). I hasten to say I know nothing of her political views, and in any event I wouldn't accuse Wittfogel of anything on account of his association with his wife. . . .

On Collaboration with Communists

One of the principal targets of the China Lobby's criticism in the controversy about the history of our Chinese policy has been the proposal for a coalition between the Nationalists and the Communists—or more properly for a working arrangement between the two, in order to avoid a civil war in which, as informed observers knew and as events proved, the Chiang government would be bound to lose. Even General Marshall's motives have been assailed by the China Lobby because he advocated this, in spite of the fact that it is a matter of record that this policy was first sponsored by Secretary of State Byrnes, who has never been attacked for it and should not be.

It is nonsense to say, as had been dogmatically asserted before this committee, that coalition or cooperation with Communists always ends with the Communists taking over.

The Free French cooperated with the Communists, and the Communists did not take over France. Today about a third of the French Deputies are Communists.

The post-war government of Burma began as a coalition with Communists, but the Communists were later expelled and armed action taken against them.

The Indonesian Nationalist movement began as a united front with Communists, but the Indonesian government has since taken armed action to suppress them.

The British cooperated during the war with Indian Communists, but the Communists did not take over India.

In saying this I do not want to be misunderstood as advocating collaboration with Communists. This is always dangerous—as dangerous as a partnership with a bear. It should be tolerated only where there is no alternative. My point is only that coalition is not necessarily surrender, and that coalition may reasonably be advocated in particular circumstances by persons whose sole objective is the ultimate defeat of communism. . . .

On Preventing War

In defending ourselves against totalitarian aggression abroad and infiltration within, we must not, despairing of our heritage of freedom, try to take refuge in the brutal kind of police state that we fought against when we destroyed Hitler and defeated Japan. . . .

War may come upon us. We may have no choice other than to endure and inflict its horrors. But the moral values that we are defending cannot be defended if we take upon ourselves the inhuman and brutal responsibility of preventive war. The demands of civilization and humanity are that we make every effort, unless and until we are forced into war, to protect ourselves and the values of civilization by means short of war.

The policy which I have described, as well as the policy to which our government and the United Nations are committed at the moment, is the policy of containment of aggression and of building up the conditions and forces of freedom. . . .

Gentlemen, of this I am certain: so long as this program of maneuver is our policy, so long as we choose the difficult and great course of peace, we are completely dependent for success on the validity of our information, the skill with which we analyze the information, and the ability not only of our diplomats but of our non-government, academic, and private research students and analysts. We cannot hope to play this dangerous game, and certainly not to win it, unless we have the facts as to what is going on. Our observers must be allowed to report the facts as they see them, without the fear that their motives will be misconstrued if they tell the truth. We must know the facts favorable to our enemy as well as those that we like. Of equal importance, we must have the views and opinions of all who have any special competence. Their views must be freely stated and stoutly maintained, so that those who have the ultimate decisions to make may have the fullest choice of various alternatives and so that the people may understand the issues at stake. . . .

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Germany and Lisbon

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

THE West German press published the results of the Lisbon conference on Ash Wednesday, and to the German people, who learned they were to be remilitarized whether they liked it or not, the news seemed darkly in keeping with the day. In the Catholic provinces of the Federal Republic the carnival season was over and the gloomy period of fast was beginning. Two days before, on Rose Monday, at the climax of the revelry in Cologne, judgment had been pronounced on Lisbon. A million people stood in the streets, in front of the ruined buildings, to watch the carnival parade. One of the humorous floats was labeled "European Army." It showed a huge amorphous figure mounted on a truck, a futuristic monster, more fantastic than any creature of Picasso's imagination. Behind it marched a company of German soldiers in ragged, crazy uniforms, armed with canes and brooms, and then came a group of smartly turned-out Allied officers proclaiming themselves "The Victors." The float was greeted with scornful laughter which turned into thunderous applause for the German soldiers and then, at sight of the self-styled victors, into boos and hisses.

Every city and town in Germany, one reads in the local papers, reacted to Lisbon in the same way. The people are furious that the government, against their will and without authorization from Parliament, agreed to contribute German divisions, and billions of marks as well, to NATO defense. The Social Democratic opposition is determined that the agreement shall not be carried out and is renewing its demand for a general election. It maintains that the Parliament has no right to create a German army; that the constitution must be changed before that can be done. The constitution, of course, can only be changed by a two-thirds' vote of the Parliament, and the Adenauer government has but a scant majority. Moreover, the opposition insists, since the present Parliament was chosen under such different circumstances from those prevailing today, the will of the people should be consulted in new elections.

Six million organized workers support the Social Democratic position, although Christian Fette, president of the General Federation of Labor, has declared that Germany has a duty to the European community and should make a conditional military contribution to its defense. His statement has evoked violent protests, and revolts against his leadership are brewing in many unions. The question what can be done if the government majority imposes remilitarization is passionately discussed by rank-and-file unionists, and occasionally one hears talk of a general strike. That such a drastic measure is even thought of shows how severe is the crisis brought on by the Lisbon decisions and Adenauer's arbitrary action.

German democracy will be the first sacrifice to Lisbon. German social progress will be the second. Bonn has agreed to spend twelve and a half billion marks a year on armament, of which something over one billion will be allocated to Berlin and another billion used for the existing frontier guards and military pensions. Adenauer's Finance Minister says he will not raise taxes but will ask the several *Länder* to increase their contributions to the federal government 13 per cent, which will make them give up 40 per cent of their revenues. That will mean an end to their public-housing projects and a sharp curtailment of relief for the nine million refugees from the east and the even needier pensioners, disabled veterans, war widows, and orphans.

If Dr. Adenauer and his ministers are proud of their success in obtaining a German army, many deputies are deeply disturbed. Even those representing government parties recognize that remilitarization will have serious consequences for both domestic and foreign politics. Their greatest fear is that it will perpetuate the division of the country and increase the danger of war. They might not go so far as to vote against the government, but in secret they hope that rearmament plans will finally be wrecked on French opposition. Like the deputies from the middle-class parties, most of the bourgeois newspapers are skeptical about the results of Lisbon and assert that Acheson claims a great success for domestic political reasons.

No responsible politician, no sober journalist, believes in the much-talked-of fifty divisions. The Bonn *General Anzeiger* recalls Göring's promise before the war that no enemy plane would penetrate to the skies over Germany and cautions against underestimating Russian strength. The Stuttgart *Wirtschaftszeitung* says: "Whatever the Americans do in pursuit of their own aims, and whatever action is taken at Bonn and Paris, we must never cease to demand that the great powers use this critical year not only for rearmament but for an earnest attempt to mitigate the conditions that make rearmament necessary." The Social Democratic Press Service found the Lisbon decisions "astonishing," since they were a virtual admission that "the United States feared it would be un-

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able to implement its European policy." In that case "the value of the policy in defending Europe against the Soviet threat must be questioned." The agreement between the United States and Bonn on the subject of the German contribution had only made the desired European unity more difficult to achieve. Never had France and Germany been farther apart, and passions were being unloosed in both countries that were widening the gap. "New parliamentary elections," the Social Democratic organ continued, "are of international importance for the reason that any rearmament measure that the government forces through the present unrepresentative Parliament will never be carried out."

Many deputies and trade-unionists express themselves in less diplomatic language. "For the first time," they say, "communism has a chance in West Germany."

A Blow to Disarmament

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations, New York

THE reactions reaching the United Nations from the capitals most directly affected by the decisions of the Lisbon conference—Moscow, Paris, Bonn, London—are still either too scanty or too official to offer a real basis of evaluation; the Soviet press, for instance, has limited itself to predicting that the Western rearmament program drawn up at Lisbon will further complicate the economic situation of member nations. But even in the present mood of American exultation over "the huge psychological success," to use Walter Lippmann's definition, achieved at a moment of rather dark anticipations, when the obstacles within the Atlantic coalition had begun to appear almost insuperable, some signs of concern are perceptible. After all it is only a week or so before the new Disarmament Commission, agreed to at Paris, will meet here for the first time—under the shadow of the armament agreements of Lisbon.

The creation of the commission by the Big Four representatives who met privately in the Palais de Chaillot from December 1 to December 10 was in the last analysis the only positive accomplishment of the Sixth Assembly. It was the determination of the small and middle-sized countries to prevent the United Nations from becoming the major victim of the cold war that inspired the resolution, introduced by Iraq, Pakistan, and Syria, later amended by Norway and Lebanon, and finally adopted unanimously. I remember saying at the time to some of the delegates: "This is all very well, provided that before the commission starts work nothing irreparable is done about the rearmament of Germany."

Nobody expected a miracle. The new commission would inherit all the fundamental disagreements that had hampered the efforts of the Assembly. But from the moment Mr. Vishinsky announced that the Soviet Union would participate there was a feeling that the disarmament question would at least remain in the area of East-West discussion. Now, after Lisbon, some of the small powers that placed more hope in that limited but concrete possibility are asking themselves what the commission can do beyond reviving the well-known spectacle of reciprocal recriminations.

The answers of such delegates as will comment are colored by the different ways in which they interpret the consequences of Lisbon, especially in regard to the American and Russian positions, since it is evident in advance that if neither power is willing to make use of the Disarmament Commission, any attempts the other powers may make in the direction of a rapprochement will be fruitless. About America the sentiment is more clear. It is generally assumed that the United States believes Russia has already lost the chance to prevent the development of the Atlantic coalition on the lines laid down by Washington. Of course as long as billions of dollars and innumerable sacrifices are demanded from the parliaments of the various countries, including the United States Congress, the menace of Russian aggression will continue to be the keynote of American policy within and outside the United Nations. But this does not conflict with the fact that, since Lisbon, the dominant American feeling, expressed privately, is that "Russia is now in our pocket" and while the Kremlin may still cause a lot of trouble, in Indo-China, in Malaya, and even in Korea, it will not be able to keep the West from becoming the most powerful armed combination of all time. In this state of mind the United States is not likely, in the coming session of the Disarmament Commission, to accept any plan that would imply a diminution of the balance achieved at Lisbon.

But of course Russia, in Washington's pocket or not, is still on the scene, and its reaction is awaited in United Nations circles with both curiosity and anxiety. One long-held assumption remains still up in the air. It had been expected that the Kremlin, while ready to meet the West on certain other issues and to retreat diplomatically where necessary, would be adamant on the question of the rearmament of Germany. But German rearmament suddenly dominates the international picture, and, to the amazement of certain people in the United Nations with whom I have talked here, Russian diplomacy appears to be dispersed among various lesser issues. The question arises whether, instead of a frontal counter-attack, Moscow may not plan a flank movement, making the most of the undeniable impact that the recent appeal of the Grotewohl government in favor of a peace treaty has had on Bonn. In any case, whatever Russia's reaction to the Lisbon agreements, it is feared in United Nations circles that the Soviet representative will not appear in the Disarmament Commission in a very cooperative mood.

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Another Crisis for Ike

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington

SWEEPING political predictions would be unwise in advance of the New Hampshire primary, which will provide the first test of the relative popularity of various candidates. But certain facts may be noted. The Eisenhower forces are seriously in need of a really smashing victory in the Republican balloting. On the Democratic side, Mr. Truman can afford to lose a few primaries to Senator Estes Kefauver; he can undoubtedly win renomination by his party if he wants to. But an excellent showing by Kefauver, followed by Mr. Truman's voluntary withdrawal from the race, might make the Tennessee Senator a factor in the Democratic convention. If Mr. Truman does decide to step aside, however, his heir apparent still seems likely to be Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, who is working just as hard as Kefauver, though in a different way, to make himself "available" if the occasion arises.

One primary does not decide a Presidential nomination, as was proved in 1948 when Stassen swept Wisconsin and then was abruptly checked in Oregon by Dewey. But in New Hampshire Eisenhower has little to gain and much to lose, whereas Taft has much to gain and little to lose. The Eisenhower people made the mistake of claiming New Hampshire for their own. Eisenhower was backed by the Republican governor and by the organization groups that in 1950 renominated Senator Tobey. But ever since Taft decided to enter the primary, Governor Adams has been rather irritably denying to reporters that Eisenhower is a sure winner.

The plain fact is that the Republican organization in New Hampshire is divided, and Taft is supported by most of the Republicans who in 1950 nearly succeeded in throwing Tobey out of the Senate as "too liberal." If Taft gets from four to seven of the state's fourteen convention delegates and makes a good showing in the parallel preferential voting for candidates, it will be a worth-while victory.

The trouble with Eisenhower's campaign is that owing to his absence from the country it has never got off the ground. Instead, it has run into a series of crises, with Ike's supporters here constantly demanding more overt declarations from him to make up for the failure to materialize of the "spontaneous" draft they once dreamed of. Eisenhower handled the first crisis for them by his "green light" press conference during a flying trip to Washington, when he said, in effect, that he would not disavow those who were working for him. In the second crisis he let Senator Lodge announce that as civilian president of Columbia University he had declared himself a Republican, confirming Lodge later in a statement issued at Paris.

When a third crisis arose, various Eisenhower supporters began clamoring for him to "come home" by May 1. "He can't win," they wailed, "unless he campaigns." Why they imagine that Ike will "come home," in the face of his very clear statement that under no circumstances would he ask to be relieved of his duty in Europe, surpasses understanding. But the demand is a sign of their fear that Taft is about to seize the nomination by weight of fire power.

They have reason to be apprehensive. Taft is campaigning with intelligence and determination. He is the only front-running candidate in a position to make hard-headed deals for delegates, to promise patronage and rewards and jobs. The Republican professionals who control delegates are not interested in pie in the sky or convinced by theoretical claims that only Ike can win in November. They are beginning to suspect that maybe Taft can win in November—or at least that only an alliance with Taft holds out a clear prospect of reward. Many newspapers are now running syndicated newspaper articles purporting to explain Eisenhower's political creed in his own words. To the delegate-controlling politicians these will not seem a satisfactory substitute for Ike's presence.

Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and Senator Ives of New York may feel that their own reelection chances would be ruined with Taft heading the Republican ticket. But Senators ordinarily do not control delegates; governors and state chairmen and party bosses control them. If Eisenhower has the popular pulling power that is claimed, New Hampshire is the place for him to show it.

For the Democrats, nothing will be clear until the President makes his announcement of intentions. Back in 1951 he said that he had already made up his mind, but a few weeks ago he asked reporters to stop bothering him about it, because he had a very difficult question to decide. Mr. Truman obviously would hate to contemplate the possible election of Taft, who has already promised to repudiate the President's foreign policy, change the military leadership, and do something different—nobody knows just what—in the Far East. Whether Mr. Truman will eventually decide that he has made the Administration record and is thus the best person to defend it may

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depend on the extent to which he is influenced by Mrs. Truman's desire to get out of the White House as against the desire of various White House cronies to hang on to their perquisites.

Assuming that Truman does not run, the Stevenson boomlet is at least as important as Kefauver's open drive for the nomination or Senator Robert S. Kerr's role as a Truman stalking horse in Nebraska. The weak men around Truman have an abiding hatred for Kefauver as the "crime buster" who helped the Republicans beat Scott Lucas in 1950 in Illinois. What actually beat Lucas, of course, was the over-ripe record of the Democratic Party in Chicago, its mistake in nominating a wealthy cop for sheriff of Cook County, and the undistinguished Senate career of Lucas himself. The cronies will never understand this and they still despise Kefauver. Of more weight is the fact that there are not enough primaries in the country for the Tennessee Senator to get the delegates he will need to win against Truman's open opposition.

Senator Richard B. Russell, who announced his candidacy late last week, will have strong Southern support, but since 1936, when the Democratic National Convention substituted nomination by simple majority for the two-thirds' rule, the South has held no veto power over the Democratic nominee. Russell is an able man, far more statesman-like than most of his Dixiecrat supporters, but the Democrats will not nominate an anti-civil-rights candidate unless they decide to commit hara-kiri. Northern industrial and Negro votes are more important to the party than the Southern Electoral College votes. The real question about Russell is whether, after being beaten in the convention, he will support the Democratic nominees or bolt to whatever Dixiecrat movement gets under way.

Stevenson has certain clear-cut advantages. He is not challenging the President's control of the party, he is a proved vote getter, and he is considered by some White House strategists to be ideally situated to appeal to the three groups of greatest importance to the Democratic Party—organized labor, farmers, and Northern minorities, including Negro voters. He swept Illinois in 1948 by 570,000 votes, when Senator Douglas obtained a plurality of 407,000 and Mr. Truman one of 33,000. He has administered his state honestly and skilfully. Most important of all, perhaps, he has been getting an excellent press since he visited Truman here last month.

Stevenson will not talk to reporters about his own Presidential prospects, but he willingly discusses national issues, and his ideas square well enough with Truman's. A Committee of One Thousand, with impressive names and leadership, is ready in Illinois to back him if the word comes. In Washington, Stevenson's friends have quietly opened an office under the leadership of a liberal Chicago lawyer, George Ball.

The President has said he "hopes" to make his announcement before April 29—the last day on which he can file in Missouri as a candidate for his old job in the Senate. A probably unreliable rumor is that he may choose to make his declaration on March 29 at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner in Washington, fourth anniversary of the famous dinner at which he confidently told the $100-a-plate party faithful that "the next President will be a Democrat—and you're looking at him."

Most of his real friends here would like to see the President voluntarily retire. If he loses in the election he will feel personally repudiated, and if he wins he will face four more years of terrible struggle to implement a program with a divided party.

Mix-up in Minnesota

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Duluth

IT IS hard to say just what Minnesota voters will decide in the Presidential primary on March 18. A peculiar combination of circumstances has reduced the balloting to an absurdity: while six delegations originally filed, only one avowed candidate for the Presidency is entered, namely, Harold E. Stassen.

This will be the first Presidential primary under a 1949 law supposed to have been tailored to meet Stassen's future political requirements. The law provides that if a candidate wants to take his name off the ballot he must sign an affidavit stating "that he is not a candidate for the nomination of President for the party for which he has been filed and that if nominated by such party he would not accept." Stassen may have had both MacArthur and Eisenhower in mind when this tricky measure was drafted.

The six delegations which originally filed included one for Stassen, one for Eisenhower, two for MacArthur, a favorite-son delegation for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, and a delegation for Senator Estes Kefauver. The last appears to have been a "stooge" delegation entered without Kefauver's consent by elements unfriendly to Senator Humphrey. Kefauver has since said: "I do not wish to be a candidate in Minnesota; I desire that my name shall not appear on the ballot." General MacArthur has also asked that his name be withdrawn, but neither Kefauver nor MacArthur has signed the

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Alvin Katz

Harold E. Stassen

affidavit which the statute requires. Last week Attorney General J. A. A. Burnquist ruled the requirement invalid, and acting on this ruling, Secretary of State Mike Helm struck the Kefauver delegation and the one formally pledged to MacArthur from the ballot. But a delegation filed for one Edward C. Slettedahl, state chairman of the "Fighters for MacArthur," who refers to himself as a "stand-in" candidate for the General, remains in the running. Since Senator Humphrey has disavowed any personal Presidential hopes and Kefauver and MacArthur have succeeded in withdrawing, the contest is between Stassen and Eisenhower.

The Eisenhower leaders apparently decided to enter a slate of delegates in Minnesota only after Stassen had barged into the New Hampshire primary. Taft has powerful support in Minnesota but has refused to enter the primary on three grounds: it is his policy not to compete with favorite-son candidates; he is heavily committed in the Wisconsin primary (April 1), which his supporters regard as crucial, and also in the New Hampshire primary (March 11); and he believes that he will get many "second choice" votes from both the Stassen and Eisenhower delegates. Some politicians here feel that he is making a serious mistake, since he might stand a good chance in a three-cornered Taft-Eisenhower-Stassen fight.

Early surveys revealed wide popularity for Eisenhower. In a poll taken among 450 employees in a Minneapolis industrial plant he received more votes than all other candidates combined. Democratic strength in the area, normally 51 per cent, was shown to be down to 28 per cent. A poll taken in Northfield, with the college vote at St. Olaf's and Carleton excluded, gave Eisenhower 274, Taft 195, Stassen 184. A poll taken by Dick Bruner of the Mankato *Free Press* indicated that Republican county chairmen in the Second District thought Kefauver would be the hardest Democratic candidate to beat; Democratic-Farmer-Labor leaders said that Eisenhower would be the strongest Republican nominee.

Nevertheless, enthusiastic receptions given Stassen in such communities as St. Cloud, Willmar, and Rochester have apparently disturbed those in charge of the national Eisenhower campaign. Senator Frank Carlson, co-chairman of the Eisenhower for President Headquarters, has since been quoted as saying that his organization does not support the Eisenhower slate in Minnesota. Actually Stassen's reception in Minnesota has been hearty largely because he is campaigning as a favorite-son candidate in a state in which he was governor for three terms. Should he roll up a big vote in Minnesota, in default of any opposition, his chances in Wisconsin will be improved. In any case, he has precipitated a real crisis for the Eisenhower forces.

Perhaps the most noteworthy political fact in the Minnesota situation is that for the first time since 1948 the number of professed Republican voters now exceeds the Democratic-Farmer-Labor total. A recent poll indicates that 37 per cent of the voters now think of themselves as Republicans, 33 per cent as D. F. L., 23 per cent as independents, and 7 per cent as interested in minor groups. The same poll shows a marked movement of independents into the Republican Party and a similar movement from D. F. L. into the independent ranks. In short, the independent vote is leaving the Democratic Party, although it may of course swing back.

A court action has been filed to disqualify the Eisenhower delegation on technical grounds.* Stassen denies any hand in this maneuver, but it is widely believed that his supporters engineered it. One of the persons taking part is a former Republican Congressman who appeared on the platform with him when Stassen announced his candidacy in Philadelphia last December 27. State Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner Leonard Lindquist has denounced Stassen for trying to choke off the Eisenhower slate and charged that the "Stassen dictatorship in Minnesota G. O. P. politics is killing the spirit of many party workers." It is interesting that Lindquist, one of the Eisenhower delegates, is a member of a law firm of which Orville Freeman, who is expected to be the D. F. L. candidate for governor, is also a member. In a number of areas I have sensed a pretty close relationship between certain D. F. L. elements and the pro-Eisenhower people.

Stassen has unquestionably lost strength in Minnesota since 1948. The old-line Republicans feel that in many cases he has "used" them and then let them down. On the other hand, the starry-eyed "internationalist" Republicans, who were enthusiastically pro-Stassen in 1948, are now for Eisenhower, as are many of the followers of former Governor Luther Youngdahl. Stassen is re-

**Postscript*: The state Supreme Court has now ruled the Eisenhower delegation off the ballot. It will ease the tension for Senator Edward J. Thy and others who indorsed Ike before they knew that Harold intended to be a candidate in Minnesota. The Eisenhower forces seem to have been bluffed out of this primary by the reception accorded Stassen. The likely effect will be to strengthen Stassen in Wisconsin and to complicate still further the Eisenhower strategy. Yet the latest polls still show Eisenhower a heavy favorite over Stassen.

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garded with some cynicism by many elements. A story I heard everywhere is that two states now claim Harold Stassen, but Pennsylvania would gladly yield to Minnesota and Minnesota to Pennsylvania. As usual, he is taking an opportunist line. He is against the "soft internationalism" of the Democrats on the one hand and against the "semi-isolationism of the 1920's" on the other. He favors a "dynamic" policy in which we will use "more American ideas and fewer American dollars." He wants the gold standard restored and advocates inducing corporations to sponsor profit-sharing programs by the grant of tax benefits. Asked how he stood on McCarthy, for whom he campaigned vigorously in Wisconsin in 1946, he said: "I feel the cure for McCarthyism is to remove all those who have shown a weakness toward the communistic attitude"—which is hardly a repudiation.

Some of the ablest political reporters in the state imparted to me their secret belief that Eisenhower might upset Stassen—a possibility which seemed to be anticipated with universal pleasure. But there is so little real interest in the primary that Minnesota must be put down as a "mix-up," a puzzle. After studying the curious situation, John C. McDonald of the Minnesota *Tribune* decided that he would "take Red-eyed Sadie in the third." I'm inclined to agree.

Clinical Study in Queens

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

THE Fifth Congressional District in the Borough of Queens in New York City, where registered Democrats outnumber registered Republicans nearly three to one, has just sent a Taft-minded Republican to Congress in a by-election. News of the event was greeted with considerable apathy by practically everyone in the country except the chairman of the Republican National Committee, who called it "the handwriting on the wall for Truman." That may be putting it a little strong, especially as the defeated Democrat was almost as violently anti-Truman as his successful opponent. Nevertheless, the cozy little election has its points of interest for all parties concerned, including the trend spotters.

The Fifth District is a community of modest small homes interspersed wtih garden apartments of the hey-neighbor-turn-down-your-radio variety. Politically it is an area in which the Democrats are often more successful in getting out the registration than the votes. It went for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936, wildly for Willkie in 1940, and mildly for Dewey in 1948. It elected a Republican Congressman in 1946 and a Democratic Congressman in 1948 and 1950. In 1949 it sent a Democrat to the City Council by a vote of more than two to one.

The successful Republican candidate in the by-election was Robert T. Ross, a veteran of the Eightieth Congress who was attempting a come-back. The Republican National Committee was so determined he should win that it sent Bernard Lamb, a by-election expert, down from headquarters to help him. Lamb and Frank Kenna, chairman of the Queens Republican Committee, did a bang-up job of machine campaigning. "We hit the people with four separate mailings and reached 75,000 of the district's 106,528 voters directly by telephone," Kenna said. "We figured all we had to do was to get out the vote—any vote—and we'd win." Well, they didn't exactly get out the vote; only 30 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls, which is not such a hot figure even for a by-election. But enough of the 30 per cent voted Republican to make Kenna consider that his 75,000 phone calls were not wasted.

The issues? Kenna summed them up in three words—"crime, corruption, communism." He added that sometimes the three words were conveniently wrapped up in one—"Trumanism." He said the word had a magic effect, even on Democrats. "At first we thought we had to remind the Democrats, in our approach to them, of the corruption in their own party. But we soon found out they knew all about it. After that we just told them, 'Get out and vote!' "

Did the Democrats vote? Kenna says sure they did—they voted for Ross. "Look at Forest Hills," he said. "Three hundred Democrats are registered there. But only three votes were cast for the Democratic candidate on the voting machines. Do you mean to tell me that of three hundred Democrats, only three voted?" Conversely, said the persuasive Kenna, it is impossible to believe that the 17,000 who voted for Ross were all Republicans. "Give us a break and say we got out 50 per cent of our enrolment. That still means we captured at least 4,000 Democratic votes."

Were any other issues placed before the voters in the course of the campaign—foreign policy, inflation, local issues? "There was a local issue," answered Kenna. "Airplane crashes. We're living here near LaGuardia Airport just as the Elizabeth people live near Newark Airport. But I can't say it was much of an issue. It turned out the Democratic candidate was just as much opposed to airplane crashes as our candidate."

The Democratic candidate was Hugh Quinn, whom

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the district had sent to the City Council in 1949. Quinn managed his own campaign with no help from the Democratic National Committee. Indeed, in the face of aggressive Republican charges of "corruption, crime, and communism," Quinn waged an indignant "not me" campaign, deliberately divorcing himself from anything that smacked of the Truman machine. He even dropped the Democratic star from his campaign literature, possibly because it had exactly the same number of points as the Russian star. Still, his disguise apparently was not good enough. "Truman licked me," he moaned when he received news of his defeat.

Well, there it is. But how would the election have gone had Quinn put on an aggressive campaign, welcoming the support of the Democratic National Committee and making use of the facilities of the New York Telephone Company? That is for the trend spotters to decide. But it does seem that the election showed two things rather clearly. The first is that a "not me" campaign will prove no more effective in 1952 than a "me too" campaign proved in 1948. The second is that the Republicans have decided to campaign, at least on the local level, on the "Trumanism" issue as the obverse of the Democratic "McCarthyism" coin. The Democrats will now have to decide whether their best counter-offensive is to change the word by urging Truman to remove himself from it or to give it another and more salutary meaning.

Tito's Unique Yugoslavia

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

TO STUDY the Yugoslav economic problem one really needs to visit Yugoslavia—many of the relevant facts are still not available elsewhere. I spent last September in Yugoslavia, traveling about the country, visiting factories, talking with officials; my visit culminated in a series of long discussions with high officials in Belgrade in charge of economic policy. After examining my notes and the material I had collected, I began to understand why Russia's systematic efforts to destroy the Tito regime by an economic blockade are not likely to succeed; Yugoslavia's ability not only to free itself from the role of satellite but to hold its own against the Soviet Union and the other states in the Russian orbit was at least partially explained. Answers to other puzzling questions also emerged, such as why the revolution in Yugoslavia had developed so differently from the Russian revolution, and why the Yugoslavs have been able to establish their independence of Moscow while the other Eastern countries remain under Soviet domination. A few of the factors responsible for the unique situation in Yugoslavia are analyzed in this article and one to follow.

When the Bolshevik Party came to power in Russia through the October Revolution, World War I was practically over, and once the party had consolidated its control, it was able to carry out a gigantic social transformation by expropriating the great feudal landowners, who had played such a decisive political role, as well as the relatively small number of capitalists. The imperial Yugoslav armies were defeated by the Germans in World War II just as the czarist armies had been in World War I, but Tito organized his partisan forces while the fight was still raging. The Germans—like the Japanese in China—controlled the cities and railroads but never conquered the whole country. The partisans—like the Chinese guerrillas—could not be completely defeated. When Hitler's occupation forces in Yugoslavia were weakened as a result of German military setbacks elsewhere, the partisans seized one sector of the country after another. And since the former Serbian ruling class had cooperated with the invaders, as fast as the partisans took over an area, they established their own political regime.

Thus the social revolution in Yugoslavia took place *during* the war, almost as a by-product of the war. Tito's men ousted those in control because they were collaborators and traitors. When the war ended, the revolution was also at an end. The new Yugoslav government, dominated by Tito and the Communist Party, possessed all the economic "commanding heights"—the big industrial concerns, the railroads, the banks, and so forth. It was not necessary, as it had been in Russia in 1917, to carry out a radical social transformation in the wake of a devastating war; the change had been accomplished by the partisans in the process of winning the war.

Yugoslavia is the only Eastern European country in which victory and revolution were in a sense one. In none of the present Russian satellite countries was there any important revolutionary movement while the war was going on. Where major upheavals did occur, at the end of the war or afterward, it was the Red Army that set them in motion and controlled them. And this brings us to the second point which distinguishes the Yugoslav situation from that of other Eastern European countries.

FRITZ STERNBERG, economist and author, has recently brought out a new book, "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial." His second article on Yugoslavia will appear in an early issue.

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When the war was over not one Russian soldier stood on Yugoslav soil. So little did Stalin foresee what was to come that the Red armies withdrew from Belgrade, which they had occupied in their thrust against the Germans, and at the end of the struggle Tito stood at the head of his own battle-tested and victorious forces and master of his country—just as Mao Tse-tung was master of China when the civil war was won. Leadership of his own army was Tito's first necessity for staying in power. But this alone would have been insufficient. He could have been overthrown after the break with Moscow had not decisive economic factors come to his aid.

ALTHOUGH Yugoslavia is still an industrially backward country, it is trying hard to develop its industry to the point where iron and coal can be processed at home: Yugoslavia wants a heavy industry of its own. The effort to make an agrarian, raw-material-producing country also an industrial country is evident on all sides. It can be clearly seen in the more advanced republics, Croatia and Slovenia, which in many respects are not far below the industrial level of Czechoslovakia, and even in Macedonia, whose economic development approximates that of Bulgaria or Rumania.

In line with this trend there has been a rapid expansion of cities and urban occupations. At the end of the war 80 per cent of the people were still engaged in cultivating the land and only 20 per cent in business or professions; today the proportion has shifted to 70 per cent in agriculture and 30 in urban occupations. At the end of 1945 the unions had only about a million members; today the number has doubled—1,600,000 industrial workers and 400,000 other employees. With increasing industrialization Yugoslavia has made a break with its own past and at the same time thrown off the restrictions by which Russia sought to transform it into an economic satellite.

Before the war Yugoslavia's development, like that of most other industrially backward nations, was chiefly determined by the influx of foreign capital. Foreign investments increased the output and export of certain raw materials, especially minerals, but did nothing to help Yugoslavia achieve a coordinated industrial structure. Thus while the country possessed all the formal attributes of sovereignty, its economy showed pronounced colonial traits, which of course effectively undermined its political independence as well. By expropriating most of the imported capital and taking control of the nation's economy, the Tito government sharply changed Yugoslavia's semi-colonial status. A Five-Year Plan was set up which aimed, among other things, at processing more and more raw materials at home and using them as the core of a heavy and light machine industry.

Knowing that Russia, after the October Revolution, had been transformed from a primarily agrarian into a mixed agrarian and industrial country, the Yugoslavs took it for granted that the Soviet government would support their industrial program. Their Five-Year Plan was, in fact, largely based on the assumption that the Russians would supply—partially on credit—capital goods and other necessities which they themselves did not yet produce.

But Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, as the years have revealed, is not concerned with helping the Eastern countries develop according to their own economic needs. On the contrary, Russia is evidently determined to gear the economies of the satellite states to its own and in so doing increase their dependence. The five-year plans announced in Prague, Warsaw, and Budapest are in reality part and parcel of the Russian five-year plans. In 1945, however, this policy had not clearly emerged; possibly it had not fully developed. In any case, Russia and the other Eastern countries purchased many of Yugoslavia's products and supplied their own goods in return. But they never fulfilled their credit promises; of the $125,000,000 credit that had been pledged to Yugoslavia, only $800,000—less than 1 per cent—was received. The execution of the Yugoslav Five-Year Plan was in consequence seriously hampered. In the period just after the war, however, Yugoslavia's foreign trade went chiefly to Russia and the Russian satellites. This was in sharp contrast to the situation before the war.

IN 1938 imperial Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia maintained no diplomatic relations, and the trade between the two countries was only 1 per cent of their total trade. About 15 per cent of Yugoslavia's exports went to Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, and some 16-18 per cent of its imports were obtained from those countries. In sum, more than four-fifths of Yugoslavia's trade was with countries outside the Soviet Union and its future satellites. The first two post-war years showed a very different picture: almost three-quarters of Yugoslavia's trade was with Russia and Russian-controlled areas.

Although relations between the two governments grew more difficult as Russia tightened its economic grip on Yugoslavia, the Soviet rulers undoubtedly believed that the strong ties which had been formed were insurance against rebellion. Just before their political break with Belgrade they had induced the Yugoslavs to shift large orders for capital goods from the West to Russia and the satellite states. After the break they imposed a strict blockade and must have expected it to bring about the downfall of the Tito government. By 1949, when the blockade was fully in effect, imports from Russia had fallen to a mere 1.62 per cent and those from the satellites to 11.6 per cent.

Today Yugoslavia's trade with Russia and the satellite states stands at zero. The government estimates that

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the blockade has cost the country about $400,000,000. That is a small sum by American standards; but since Yugoslavia's annual imports total only a little over $300,000,000, the blockade, in less than four years, has cost more than a full year's imports. One can easily realize how severe was its initial impact; only by temporarily suspending part of the first Five-Year Plan and distributing it over a longer period were the Yugoslavs able to survive the blockade's effect. They have also tried to offset their losses by boosting their foreign trade with countries outside the Russian orbit.

This has not been easy, even though Yugoslavia's pre-war trade was, as shown above, predominantly with countries outside Eastern Europe. For one thing, Germany used to have the leading role, contributing in 1938 more than a third of Yugoslavia's imports. Today Yugoslavia is consciously seeking to consolidate its political independence by trading with as many countries as possible. At the same time the character of its trade has changed with the new necessity of importing large amounts of capital goods to speed up the process of industrialization.

A third factor is even more important. In no country outside the Russian orbit have military expenditures taken as large a slice of the national income as in Yugoslavia—over 20 per cent in 1951 and 23 per cent in 1952. This proportion is not only higher than in any of the Atlantic Pact nations of Europe but also higher than in the United States, where, according to budget estimates, military expenditures will absorb 18 per cent of the American national income in 1952-53.

At present Yugoslavia's foreign trade is determined primarily by the rearmament program. Out of $300,000,000 worth of imports, about $100,000,000 worth are armaments. To pay for them Yugoslavia must export a considerable part of its raw materials, which necessarily slows down its own industrial growth. To understand the nation's present straits, one must remember that Yugoslavia, with a population of only 16,000,000, lost more than 10 per cent of its people in the war; the country was long a battlefield in the international struggle, and for even longer civil war raged on its soil. Then in 1948-49 the blockade was imposed, and in 1950 a drought caused poor crops and near-starvation.

Despite these gigantic difficulties the economic upsurge is unmistakable. In 1951 the harvest was better than in any previous post-war year, and there is now food for everybody in village and town. Despite reports to the contrary in some American newspapers, the winter sowing was about the same as a year ago. Complaints and resistance have certainly increased, but much of this opposition is due, not to worse conditions, but to the fact that since the government began to lift restrictions and decentralize its over-all controls, the peasants feel free to speak out. Things are looking up, and if there is no war the hardest years are thought to be over.

Some Plane Facts

BY LEONARD ENGEL

THE recent crashes at Elizabeth have raised the question of moving airports farther away from urban centers. Although most are already well removed, nearly all airfields serving large cities, as well as many in smaller communities, have residential areas close by; some are entirely surrounded by built-up districts. The residents of many airport communities, their nerves frayed by the constant racket of low-flying planes and fearful of sudden death from the skies, are demanding an end to air operations in their midst, regardless of the crippling effect such a development would have on commercial aviation and its services to the community at large.

The answer to the Elizabeth tragedies is not in moving airports, but in improving planes and airline practices. The hard fact is that airline planes are not as safe as they can and ought to be. Moreover, the airlines, if they were so minded, could be much better neighbors as well as safer public servants. No attempt has ever been made, for example, to reduce noise; the men who run the airlines brush off every suggestion for changes in engine and propeller design or in take-off and landing procedure that might make life a little more bearable around airports.

During the past four years the passenger fatality rate of the scheduled domestic lines has held nearly constant at about 1.3 deaths per 100,000,000 passenger-miles. This is an improvement over the years immediately after the war. But it is no better than was achieved in the best war and pre-war years despite new and presumably safer planes and vast government expenditures for new airports and navigation aids. Deaths among occupants of buildings and homes struck by planes, moreover, are increasing in frequency; such accidents were rare before the war.

A good many factors have contributed to the airlines' failure to improve their safety record. One is their re-

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luctance to buck popular prejudice against riding backward. Experiments in the United States and Great Britain going back to the war indicate that many more people would survive crashes if they sat facing the tail of the plane so that the back of the seat would take up the first shock. Post mortems have shown that many persons are killed by being snapped over their seat belts; this was the case in sixteen of twenty-eight deaths in a crash at Dallas, Texas, in 1949.

The basic reason, however, why the air safety record is no better is the stress laid by airlines on ever greater speed and economy of operation. Greater speeds allow more flights per plane per year and a greater return to the airline. Whatever may be said about customer preference, this is the reason for the parade of ever faster, larger aircraft since the war.

THERE are, in general, two ways to increase the speed of a plane. One is to use more powerful engines; the other to reduce the plane's "drag" by such measures as decreasing wing area. Since extra horse-power costs money, the airlines and the manufacturers who supply their planes chose the second device for increasing speed. Unfortunately, reducing wing area adversely affects flying characteristics. Other things being equal, the smaller its wings, the faster a plane must move in order to leave the ground, and the higher must be its landing speed.

The Constellation, DC-6, and other new transports have very small wings in proportion to their over-all size. As a result, their take-off and landing speeds approach 100 miles an hour. Such speeds are an imposition on the taxpayer as well as a built-in hazard. They are one reason why current transport craft require runways a mile or more in length. They decrease the margin left for pilot error and increase the risk of engine failure during the take-off run. And they raise formidable special problems, such as how to brake planes to a stop after landing or during a take-off emergency.

The braking problem is a good illustration of the difficulties that the wrong approach to plane design can lead to. In the past the main reliance was placed on wheel brakes and long runways. Wheel brakes cannot be applied full on in a take-off emergency or at the beginning of the landing run; the tires would blow out. And of course wheel brakes will not hold on icy runways any more than automobile brakes on icy roads; there have been several accidents as a result of planes skidding off runways. The airlines found a remedy, but it has caused as much trouble as the problem it was meant to cure. Their solution was not a plane with better take-off and landing characteristics, but a device to reverse the angle or pitch of the propeller blades, thus causing the propellers to act as a powerful air brake. The pitch-reversing mechanism, which will soon be in use on all major airlines, is wonderful when it works: it can bring planes to a complete stop in a few hundred feet. But it has already been involved in four accidents—the last two at Elizabeth and two earlier mishaps which by great good fortune caused no injuries—although it is surrounded by all sorts of safeguards supposed to guarantee that it will operate when and only when it is wanted.

Another built-in hazard in current transport planes is the practice of having one engine drive each propeller. As an emergency precaution the Civil Aeronautics Board requires that four-engined transports be able to take off on three engines, and twin-engined craft on one engine. Experienced pilots report that the precaution is worth little in a real emergency, since the stoppage of a propeller causes a violent shift in the trim of the plane. The difficulty would be obviated by putting two smaller engines on each propeller shaft—a measure that would increase initial costs and fuel consumption but would make the plane easier to handle in case of engine failure. Smaller engines would also reduce the over-all frequency of engine failure—still a leading source of accidents and occurring much more often than either the airlines or their special pleader in the government, the C. A. B., cares to admit. One major line averages more than forty failures a month.

The cockpits of pre-war transport planes used to be cited as the ultimate in complexity. They were simple then compared to now. The other day I started to count the instruments and controls in the cockpit of a current four-engined airliner. I gave up at 210 and I was still nowhere near done. Many, of course, are duplicates—there is a complete set of engine instruments, for instance, for each engine—and all the others can be individually justified as contributing in some way to the safe operation of the plane. But the total effect of this fantastic array of instruments and controls has been to create two substantial new hazards—plane failure because of gadget failure, and plane failure because there are just too many gadgets for the small crews customary with the domestic airlines to handle.

Most of the instruments and many of the controls are electrically operated. It may be treason to the electrical age to make the remark, but electrical equipment is not reliable enough for such great trust to be placed in it. A simple analogy will make clear what I mean. Commercial vacuum tubes have a useful life of about 1,000 hours. This is sufficient for dependable operation of a six-tube home radio. It is not enough, as any TV set owner knows, to assure trouble-free operation of a TV receiver with five times as many tubes and five times as great a chance of set failure because of tube failure; TV sets often need to be repaired several times a year. Similarly, most of the electrical instruments and controls on transport planes, taken individually, are fairly reliable.

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Taken together, the failure rate is high enough to be a major cause of accidents.

The array of instruments and controls in the cockpit has also increased the burden of the plane crew beyond safe limits. And paradoxically, instrument complexity is itself an outgrowth of the domestic airlines' insistence on small crews in the interest of operating economy. Twin-engined planes carry only a pilot and co-pilot; four-engined craft have two pilots and—at the insistence of the C. A. B.—a flight engineer. Radio operators are not carried. This has made necessary the use of voice radio for all communications as well as of devices designed to make radio navigation simple enough for the pilot or co-pilot to handle. Code radio and ground direction finding, which involve fewer items of equipment and are more reliable in bad weather, have been used with success for years abroad. But they require a separate radio operator. Voice radio and our present radio navigation equipment, moreover, do not relieve the pilots of the communications and navigation burden.

Aside from too high landing and take-off speeds, and the substitution of gadgets for man-power and sound basic design, the race for ever greater speed and operating economy has led to too many new types of planes. As against one in the pre-war period, the famous Douglas DC-3, five distinct plane types have been introduced since the war—the Constellation, the DC-6, the Stratocruiser, and two twin-engined transports, the Martin and Convair. As is inevitable with complicated high-performance equipment, early versions of most of these planes have had unsuspected flaws in design. One had its hydraulic lines too close to red-hot engine exhausts; another had glass-wool cabin insulation that acted as a wick and spread burning oil through the plane, thus turning a minor engine fire into a catastrophe; a third had a poorly designed wing panel that broke in a storm. The flaws were eventually corrected, but at a cost of more than 100 lives. In the meantime the airlines threw away the unique experience with the DC-4, a magnificent plane developed during the war and flown billions of miles all over the world by the air force and the airlines on military contract. If the airlines had stuck with the DC-4—which they regard as too slow—by now they would have a plane that every pilot knew backward and forward, and from which every design flaw had long since been eliminated.

What is needed to make air travel as safe as it ought to be and to relieve fears of another Elizabeth is clear. The first thing is to make safety again the prime consideration. The second is a type of plane that can take off and land at airports of reasonable size without the assistance of gadgets. We need a plane with fewer and simpler instruments and controls, making less for each member of the crew to do. We need two types of planes, and two only, embodying these characteristics—one for main-line and one for feeder service—so that engineers and crews can get used to their craft and the public will not be used as unwitting guinea pigs. Curiously, a working model of just such a plane has existed for more than a dozen years. It was designed by an engineer named Fred Weick and is called the Ercoupe. It is a two-seat private plane with ingenious simplified controls that make it as easy to handle as a car. Everyone who has ever flown it hails the Ercoupe as the plane of the future. But no one has ever tried to apply its principles to larger planes

Gold "Hedge"—with Thorns

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

AN INCREASING proportion of the world's newly mined gold seems to be moving into private hoards. In the year 1950 output of gold in all countries, excluding Soviet Russia, amounted to 24,300,000 ounces, worth $850,500,000 at $35 an ounce—the fixed American price. Of this total, $410,000,000 was added to world monetary reserves, leaving $440,500,000 for hoarding and for use in industry and the arts. Assuming that the latter absorbed a quarter of the output—an arbitrary but generally accepted estimate—about $228,500,000 remained for the black, gray, and white markets that supply hoarders. In the first nine months of 1951 estimated output was $630,000,000, of which $175,000,000 went to swell monetary reserves. Again assigning 25 per cent to industry and the arts, we have a balance of $297,500,000, some 30 per cent greater than during the whole of 1950, available for hoarders.

The chief reason for this increase has been the sale by South Africa, which mines more than half the world's gold, excluding Russia, of 40 per cent of its output at a premium. This is contrary to the rules of the International Monetary Fund, whose policy is to channel all newly mined gold, except that genuinely employed in industry, into monetary reserves at the official American price, which sets the standard for the world.

Naturally this policy has been unpopular with gold miners, who finding themselves squeezed between rising costs and a rigid ceiling price, have long clamored for an upward revaluation of their product. Their discontent grew as they noted heavy gold sales in free markets at prices equivalent to $45 or $50 or more per ounce. At several meetings of the Fund's governors, the South African representative sought a higher value for the metal that his country produces in such abundance. But this proposal was blocked by the adamant opposition of the United States Treasury, which by virtue of its ownership of some 60 per cent of the world's gold reserves is in a position to dictate prices.

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In 1950, therefore, the South African government decided to breach the ceiling unilaterally. It set aside 40 per cent of the gold delivered from the mines for sale at a premium as bars of 890 fineness, the standard used by jewelers. The purchasers melted these bars, refined them to the monetary standard, and turned them over to the brokers who cater to the hoarding trade. Although this was an obvious dodge to get around the rules of the International Fund, as was the Canadian plan of subsidizing high-cost gold mines, that body felt unable to do more than protest. Finally it seems to have concluded that since free-market sales could not be stopped, it might be advisable to reduce the premium by increasing the supply. Last fall, therefore, the Fund issued a statement in which it first reiterated its opposition in principle to premium sales and then declared that it was unable to undertake the policing of the industry. Most gold-producing countries, apart from the United States, took this pronouncement as tacit encouragement to follow South Africa's example. Consequently there is now an increasing flow of gold to the free markets, legal and illegal.

Franz Pick, in his "Black Market Yearbook for 1951," published by Pick's World Currency Report, writes:

> Gold, in any form—bars, coins, sheets—remained big business in 1951. Actively traded in the financial centers of more than fifty countries, including cities behind the Iron Curtain, gold was the only insurance against mismanaged paper currency. It protected all its adepts in Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Israel, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, etc., where currency depreciated more than 10 per cent. And as the currencies of the world remain overshadowed by inflation, the yellow metal will continue to be in demand.

At the present time, however, that demand is not keeping up with supply. According to Mr. Pick's estimate, world trading volume of gold was 23 per cent greater in 1951 than in 1950. But as noted above, supplies increased by 30 per cent in the first nine months of 1951 alone, and undoubtedly the rate of increase was still greater in the final quarter as other gold-producing countries joined South Africa in feeding the market.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find the price of gold declining, even though in many countries the process of inflation has been accelerated during the past year. In Paris, which has become the world's chief gold-trading center since legal restrictions were lifted in 1948, the price fell from $44.75 per ounce in February, the high of the year, to $41.75 in December, according to the tables in Mr. Pick's "Yearbook." As I write, it has declined farther to $40.75, even though in the past few weeks fears for the franc, which has been plunging downward, have increased demand for the metal. These quotations are for gold in bars weighing a kilogram, the purchase of which is too big a transaction for the average hoarder. The more popular gold coins are more expensive, but as bar gold is being coined on a fairly large scale by both public and private mints in Europe, the premium commanded by coins is limited.

IS GOLD a good "hedge"? How far are those who hoard it protecting themselves against currency depreciation? The data furnished by Mr. Pick in his tables suggest to me that a good many people have bought this protection dearly. Suppose, for instance, that a year ago, when the inflation scare in this country was at its height, I had turned all the paper dollars I could lay hands on into gold, thereby risking severe legal penalties. I would have paid about $44 an ounce. If today, recovering from my fright, I decided to sell the gold, I would get back $40 or less. That would mean a loss of nearly 10 per cent, apart from the fact that the gold would have earned no interest and that the dollars I received from the transaction would have less purchasing power than those I started with.

Of course, a Frenchman who exchanged francs for gold a year ago would have protected himself from the subsequent depreciation of his national currency. But he could have done better by purchasing dollar bills or travelers' checks. The fact is that since the war the trend of gold prices throughout the world has been downward. In Paris the high point seems to have been January, 1946, when the bar-gold quotation was $112. Thus anyone who bought the metal that month has suffered a shrinkage in his investment of more than 60 per cent. That is perhaps an extreme case, but the range in the past five years in Bombay is from a top of $92 per ounce in December, 1948, to a low of $48 in December, 1951, and in Buenos Aires from $68.50 in December, 1948, to $42.50 in October, 1951. A roughly similar picture is shown in other leading markets.

The one great hope of the hoarders, who have found their gold "hedges" beset with thorns, is that eventually the United States will decide that the price of gold should move in conformity with other prices and will revalue the dollar. South Africans profess to believe that this step is "inevitable," and many gold brokers, I am told, expect it to be taken within the next two years. I suspect that this is a case of wishful thinking. Certainly I can see no advantage, and many disadvantages, for this country in such a move. It would, for instance, give impetus to inflation by enlarging our credit base. It would interfere with the rearmament effort by stimulating gold-mining and thus diverting man-power and materials from the production of more useful metals. The sole gainers would be the gold-mining companies and the private hoarders. Neither group, in my opinion, needs, or deserves, the unearned increment which they would automatically receive if the price of gold were raised.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Fallacy of the Folk Soul

NATIONS HAVE SOULS. By André Siegfried. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.

I KNOW of few more harmonious lives than André Siegfried's. More than half a century ago he chose his career as a political geographer. He has roamed the whole earth, a keen, sympathetic, dispassionate observer. Although he writes for the press, and enjoys meeting all sorts and conditions of men, he is not a journalist: his works recall Tocqueville's and Bryce's rather than John Gunther's. A *grand bourgeois*, a Protestant, an impenitent liberal, he commands in this country a large and intelligent audience. It happens that I belong to Siegfried's generation and that I share, but do not cherish, most of his prejudices. This gives me the right to discuss his ideas with the fearless critical freedom that he has constantly sought to promote.

There are two books between these covers. The first chapter discusses The New Face of the World, the last The Definition and Destiny of Western Civilization. They are of capital importance. But the six intermediate chapters are essays in national psychology: Latin Realism, French Ingenuity, English Tenacity, German Discipline, Russian Mysticism, American Dynamism, and it is this aspect that the American title emphasizes. This cultural nationalism seems to me both unscientific and dangerous. Siegfried grew up at the time when Maurice Barrès was at the height of his influence: nationalism as "the willing acceptance of a determinism," the all-pervading influence of "the soil and the dead." (Hitler, Barrès's outstanding pupil, called it *Blut und Boden.*) The folk soul thus assumed is a romantic fallacy, wished upon the world by Herder and Fichte, among others; it inspired the great historian Michelet. To good Europeans, survivors of the Enlightenment, like Metternich and even Goethe, it was nonsense. But the wild hypotheses of one generation become the unquestioned truths and even the commonplaces of later ages; so that men as sane and as well informed as Alfred Fouillée, Salvador de Madariaga, and André Siegfried use their keen intellects not in challenging the Herderian dream but in giving it greater definiteness.

Siegfried has given up most of the nationalistic assumptions. He does not believe in races: all white "races" are represented in France. He does not fully accept the heaven-sent geographic unity of modern countries: France is Mediterranean, Continental, Atlantic; Germany never had any frontiers. (By the way, Siegfried thinks that Eastern Germany belongs with the East. Just as "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," "Siberia [as he puts it] begins at the Elbe.") But he still has faith in national psychologies. A brief review is not the place to wrestle with that popular misconception. A couple of examples will suffice to illustrate the nature of my objections. Inevitably, Siegfried insists on the English mind's distrust of logic, its deliberate cult of muzziness, its affectionate indulgence for stupidity (Sir Redvers Buller, Ernest Bevin, popular *because* bovine), its trust in "muddling through somehow." Whoever has conversed with such truly British thinkers as Julian Huxley, Harold Laski, Denis Brogan, knows that British dumbness has been greatly exaggerated. England has never muddled through: it has muddled into disaster, then retrieved itself—tragically late—through clear thinking, definite action, good organization. The refusal to think straight, so proudly proclaimed by the heroes of Munich, is merely the cleverest alibi when indefensible positions have to be maintained. Ponder this list—Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Adam Smith, Malthus, Bentham, Darwin, Spencer; you will find that most of the ideas upon which the West has lived for the last three hundred years, obscure on the Continent, had to be formulated, clarified, systematized in England. I like to call myself a Voltairean, and I know that Voltaire is England's best gift to France.

As for *French* psychology, permit me to smile. Traits inherited from "our ancestors the Gauls," forsooth! We do not know how large an invading minority the Gauls were, or to what racial stock they belonged. Described by the Romans as tall and blond, they must have been Teutons. And what is it that "we" owe to them? Is it Celtic mysticism and melancholy? Is it Gallic wit? Is it the heavy plodding thrift of the Auvergnat peasant? Are all the French Cartesians? If so, were they not French before Descartes started his revolution? Did not the classics themselves proclaim that "reasoning may banish reason," and that "the heart has its reasons that reason does not know"? Did not the eighteenth century, so delightfully French, extol Bacon at the expense of Descartes?

Where, today, is the France that is supposed to have a soul? Among the Communists, the Gaullists, or that loose array of weaknesses called the Third Force? Who is "the Frenchman"? Is it Fernandel, as an amusing album would have us believe, or is it Pétain, De Gaulle, Laval, Herriot, Claudel, Gide? Is it the Protestant and Teutonic André Siegfried? Even in the same province the sharpest contrasts are seen. "Numa Roumestan" (a caricature of Gambetta), Thiers, Guizot, Charles Maurras, were all politicians from the South.

No, nations are not persons, and do not have souls. This might lead us to wonder whether the individual himself has a clear-cut, constant psychology. The sane reach a precarious balance, or impose a formal order upon a welter of impulses: but everyone harbors in his heart a whole menagerie, the tiger and the lamb, the dove and the serpent, the ant and the 'possum. We are different in different atmospheres. The Nazi engineer of mass murders may have been *gemütlich* at home; the captain of industry is no hypocrite when he attends a Christian service.

I enjoyed these middle chapters for their wealth of concrete information, shrewd observations, brilliant epigrams, while rejecting the romantic fallacy that they implied. The first and the last chapters seem to me profound—all the more profound because they are inconclusive: the true philosopher never an-

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swers a question except by raising a deeper one. We are entering a new age. The paleolithic and the neolithic led by imperceptible steps to the age of tools and handicrafts; but the machine revolutionized the conditions of life. It has made rugged individualism obsolete: "The new age is based on collective organization." America is fast adapting itself to the new conditions which it did not originate; probably because it was freer than the Old World from the thrall of tradition. But it insists on preaching an ideology absolutely out of keeping with its practices and with the very spring of its strength. Siegfried fully indorses Gerald Tanqueray Robinson: "America is facing the crisis with the military equipment of 1950 and the ideology of 1775. . . . Technology is the mother of the large-scale undertaking and the grandmother of state intervention; the pursuit of efficiency leads to the same collectivist nexus in Pittsburgh as in Magnitogorsk." The U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. together are at the same time the promise and the menace of the New World.

We do not need, we cannot afford, reaction on the materialistic plane; we cannot return to the age of handicrafts, to the economy of the sturdy village blacksmith, who "owes not any man." There is no greater virtue in the oxcart than in the airplane. What we need is to save our freedom of thought by transcending practical efficiency, by denying Caesar the things that are not Caesar's; and Caesar at present is not the bureaucrat or the politician but the huckster, the advertiser, the gambler, the profiteer. "The souls of nations" are but totalitarian idols. The soul of man can be preserved alive only through eternal vigilance. ALBERT GUERARD

An Unread Classic

THE BETROTHED. By Alessandro Manzoni. A New Translation by Archibald Colquhoun. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

THE masterpieces of different literatures, those we consider a shared cultural heritage, have a universality that raises them above strictly national limits. Such a masterpiece, we have long been told in the comparative literature courses, is Manzoni's "The Betrothed." But in the century and a quarter since its appearance few English or American critics have undertaken to bring it to the attention of their countrymen or to justify the place it has always held in modern Italian culture as the basic design of narrative.

Instead, the book has been demoted by those who have read cut versions in translation—such as that used in the Harvard Classics—to the place of a lesser Waverley novel, and this coupling of Scott's name with Manzoni's was considered all the more apposite as Scott was among the first great men of letters to praise Manzoni abroad. So far has "The Betrothed" slipped from the common domain of noble literature that recently a captious critic, evidently unfamiliar with the work, likened it to "Gone with the Wind," an appraisal which, if it directly induces anyone to look into the novel, must cause some rude surprises. "The Betrothed" is not Scott, even at his best, nor can it be likened to an over-long historical tale with a verifiable incident on every page. It is the first completely successful blending of historical research, psychological insight, and literary talent, cast in narrative form, to come from the pen of a Continental writer. Its appearance and the enthusiasm with which it was received were milestones in the development of modern fiction. (Stendhal's best books were to appear a decade or more later; Stendhal was thoroughly familiar with Manzoni's masterpiece in the original.)

Those who cannot read Manzoni in the Italian have been discouraged until now by the available English versions, ranging from archaic and top-heavy to downright incompetent. But Mr. Colquhoun has remedied all this. An example chosen at random will illustrate what he has done. The best available translation so far goes:

> The peasant who knows not how to write and finds himself reduced to the necessity of communicating his ideas to the absent, has recourse to one who understands the art, taking him, as far as he can, from among those of his own rank, for, with others, he is either shamefaced or afraid to trust them.

This becomes in Colquhoun's version:

> The peasant who cannot write and needs something written has recourse to one with a knowledge of that art, choosing him, as far as he can, from his own walk in life; for he is either diffident or distrustful of others.

Obviously, the changes are not in sense but in clarity. The whole translation sings its freedom from complex verbiage, boasts its uncluttered communicative quality, and with its publication the excuse that Manzoni is unreadable in English has vanished.

The interesting thing is why it has taken so long to get the job done. We have continued to praise the book and not read it, unlike the fate meted out to

"The most important book in its human implications, that has been published for a very long time."
—PEARL S. BUCK

The Geography of Hunger

By JOSUÉ DE CASTRO

OF URGENT significance, this book by the Chairman of the Executive Council, United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, considers mankind's most crucial problem: "the terrible erosion that hunger is causing the human race and its civilization, an erosion that threatens to blot from the earth all the gigantic works of man."

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Foreword by Lord Boyd-Orr, Nobel Peace Prize Winner.

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Cervantes, whose great work was read in a variety of translations, some poor, some merely dated, until it too was treated to a first-rate contemporary translation by the late Sam Putnam—but it was always read. Not so with Manzoni.

After the publication of the Colquhoun translation, Umberto Calosso, Italian writer and critic with a special affinity for Anglo-Saxon culture, lectured in Rome on the previous lack of interest in the book in England. He came up with the hypothesis that the English reader seeks in a foreign classic something alien to himself, something exotic. Manzoni's novel, according to this critic, is too English for the English reader's taste. This amusing explanation has an element of truth even here—but how explain the popularity and permanence of certain themes, notably the tale of the rogue-hero, which seem indigenous to every nation and hence exotic to none? Perhaps Manzoni's work lacks the tight construction associated with successful fiction. Instead "The Betrothed" offers relevant detail and a breadth of design which, when one has a chance to savor the book without the handicap of a faulty presentation, may at last insure it a place in our gallery of giants.

FRANCES KEENE

Housing, Public and Private

TWO-THIRDS OF A NATION. A HOUSING PROGRAM. By Nathan Straus. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

PROGRESS is always spurred by people of singleness of purpose and devotion to a cause. For many years Nathan Straus has maintained singleness of purpose and devotion to the cause of better housing for families of low income. He continues to maintain it in "Two-Thirds of a Nation." He writes as a lover, with praise and devotion for his beloved, Public Housing—and with vilification for her rival, Private Housing. In the process he bares some important housing facts which are too often covered up by fiction; but he also, in this writer's opinion, does less than justice to his lady's rival.

He has not presented a startling new program for housing or urban redevelopment. He has reviewed and criticized present procedures, detailed the workings of pressure groups which oppose public assistance, and urged good planning and the extension of government aid to provide housing for middle-income families.

Mr. Straus has assembled an excellent dossier to show that the true costs of home ownership are frequently obscured by over-zealous private-housing promoters. Families of meager income are induced to buy homes that they cannot afford to maintain by advertisements which specify that a home will cost *x* dollars per month to "pay all"—just like rent. The ads list the "all" as interest and amortization of mortgage, insurance, and taxes; but they fail to mention the cost of heat, maintenance, and repair. Flagrant examples are presented of improper advertising and of the actual costs of a home in a project so advertised. Instead of "$83 monthly charges supposed to 'cover everything' "—in one example—"the true monthly cost is about $120—or about 50 per cent more than the advertised figure." This grossly misleading advertising practice is contrasted with the brochure of a non-profit cooperative housing project in New York City, Queensview, which reads: "Monthly carrying charges (in place of rent) will cover gas and electricity, heat and hot water, all repairs, reserves, insurance, interest and amortization of the mortgage, real-estate taxes, and an adequate contingency fund. Redecoration and replacement of ranges and refrigerators are not contemplated unless revenues permit."

Mr. Straus places the chief blame for misleading advertising and shoddy construction on the Federal Housing Administration. I believe that he is sound in so doing. The FHA should not permit the advertising of half-truths about homes on which it places insurance; nor should it encourage undersized houses that must become future slums of American-sized families, which will surely overcrowd them. Instead of supplying mechanical gadgets as advertising "come-ons," builders should be prodded by the FHA to supply adequate living space. Frills and extra mechanical comforts may be added as the individual pocket-book allows.

But Mr. Straus's zeal for public housing runs away with him when he states that ". . . any evaluation of FHA must consider the fact that the agency has not fulfilled its assigned task of enabling private builders to provide homes within the means of middle-income families." He qualifies this sentence in his next one by saying, "The single-family homes . . . have been far too expensive for this income group." But the impression he leaves is still incorrect. Many FHA-insured rental units throughout the country do house families of moderate income. There are quantities of good single-family housing developments for families of moderate income. The term "middle income" needs exact definition. Mr. Straus speaks of families in the lower brackets of middle income who border but are slightly above those with incomes eligible for public housing.

And his zeal runs away with him again when he rebukes a deputy administrator of the FHA for telling a group of real-estate men that "the National Housing Act is a profit-producing sales tool for realtors." It was meant to be just that. It was meant to aid our economy by restoring activity in the building trades and at the same time to supply homes to families of moderate income. The FHA does perform a disservice when it becomes such an eager beaver that it knowingly countenances hidden profits that reach bonanza proportions—as frequently has happened in post-war programs. And Mr. Straus paints "these extras" with a broad but informed brush.

It is when Mr. Straus starts gazing lovingly overseas at housing sites and neighborhood developments that the writer parts company with him. The British have conceived very fine plans, but it is Americans who have actually built the very well-planned housing developments. True, not all of ours have been well planned; but hundreds of projects throughout the country—perhaps thousands—have been laid out with safety, charm, utility, and some attention to recreation needs. I would like to quote the report of the National Committee on Housing, which sent a mission to Great Britain at the invitation of the British Ministry of Health in the summer of 1945. The mission, of which I was a member, was struck by the absence of well-planned sites and neighborhoods wherever we went, and reported in "Britain Faces Its Housing Emergency":

> Site-planning progress which had been expected to make tremendous strides as the result of the pioneering work done in

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Britain before 1914 was not evident in the public or private projects visited by the mission. There has been little provision of play space for small children in close proximity to the houses, and only occasionally play facilities for older children and adults. . . .

Neighborhood planning also had its origin in Britain but like forward-looking site planning was conspicuous by its absence in most of the cities visited. New neighborhood planning occupies a prominent place in all of the post-war programs. It is referred to as "American" because so much more had been done in this field here before the war than in the country where the concept originated.

I may say that the British authorities were pleased that we said this, for they recognized its truth and lamented it. We were there during the change from the Churchill to the Attlee government and were escorted about by members of both parties and by private builders, and they were in agreement on this.

British post-war plans were glorious. Unfortunately most of them are still on paper; some that have been executed do not follow the script. And this holds a lesson that must be taken to heart: to realize good housing and urban redevelopment we do have to make ambitious plans but we must not overstep the possibilities. Sir Raymond Unwin's objective of twelve families to the acre is not a practical one for urban America. I think that to aim for that objective now is unrealistic and defers consideration of objectives which are achievable as well as desirable. But, as I have said, progress in housing, as in everything else, is spurred by those of singleness of purpose and devotion to a cause. Mr. Straus has both—and shows it; his idealistic and extreme planning standards have therefore great value as a prod toward future improvement.

DOROTHY ROSENMAN

Understanding Blake

A PRIMER OF BLAKE. By Hal Saunders White. Iowa: Littlefield, Adams, Ames. $1.25.

IN THE welter of books on William Blake, often muddling and often pretentious, it is a pleasure to come across this unassuming and clear little book. Mr. White, who has taught Blake to college students for more than fifteen years, has here embodied the results of his experience. His comments are always astute and will help the reader to a sharper understanding of Blake's meaning.

Take for example, his comment on The Lamb: "It is obvious that Blake in this poem is not concerned with a naturalistic animal. His content or subject matter is the abstract, universal quality of tenderness, meekness, mildness, which exists now and did exist before lambs were created. The lamb—Christ—the child—Blake himself in this mood of innocence—equally reflect the essential quality of infinite tenderness. The lamb, Blake, the child, Christ are but images held to the light to catch the rays of this universal quality."

This is admirably concise and serves, for the student, to connect the poem with the man who was also a painter and who wrote:

> I assert for My Self that I do not behold the outward Creation & that to me it is hindrance & not action; it is as the dirt upon my feet, No part of Me. "What," it will be Question'd, "When the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?" O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God Almighty." I question not my Corporeal or Vegetative Eye any more than I would Question a Window concerning a Sight. I look thro' it & not with it.

While Mr. White does not venture farther into the Everglades of the Prophetic Books than The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, The Book of Thel, and Visions of the Daughters of Albion, or offer to act as guide in the regions where so many people, including W. B. Yeats, have been lost, his comments on the simpler and more direct works cannot but make the student appreciate Blake as a whole man, seen in the round, and consequently not only lead to keener appreciation of one of the greatest of Englishmen but also encourage a sortie into the vast, and not completely mapped, territories. It is to be hoped that "A Primer of Blake" receives a wider distribution than its modest appearance would seem to claim.

RUTHVEN TODD

Coming Soon in The Nation

"The Geography of Hunger"

By Josué de Castro

Reviewed by Barbara Cadbury

Prisoner of War

ONE GREAT PRISON. THE STORY BEHIND RUSSIA'S UNRELEASED POW'S. By Helmut M. Fehling. Forewords by Konrad Adenauer and Joseph Cardinal Frings. Translated by Charles R. Joy. The Beacon Press. $2.75.

THE fact that this book is on the side of justice, humanitarianism, and decency does not alter another fact—namely, that it is a highly skilled job of special pleading. The first part of the book is a brief, grim account of Herr Fehling's experiences as a prisoner of war in the U. S. S. R. The second part is Mr. Joy's compilation of documents and news items relating to the German and Japanese P. O. W.'s held by the Soviets. The two parts together make an effective addition to the steadily increasing body of evidence about Soviet ways and means.

It is to the credit of all concerned in the writing and publishing of this book that it is nowhere claimed to be anything but what it is—the presentation of a case. Mr. Joy says that the book's purpose is "to call attention once more to the tragedy of the war prisoners." Herr Fehling and Cardinal Frings are more specific.

Now we are forced to speak, in order to arouse every last living soul, to make

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the whole world cry out in indignation and nameless horror. [Fehling]

In the name of justice, of humanity, of love, we plead with the leading nations of the world to do everything possible to throw light into the darkness and to secure the release of those who are so unjustly detained. [Frings]

Certainly no reader can complain of lack of frankness, nor is anyone likely to challenge the need for this presentation of facts. "One Great Prison" sets forth with brutal directness one side of a story which is altogether horrendous. The weight of Fehling's indictment is not lessened by the fact that only a part of the story is told. Yet it ought to be remembered that there was another and equally brutal part. An official German report of February, 1942, recorded the death of all except "several hundred thousand" of the 3,600,000 Soviet citizens who had been taken prisoner by the Germans. The one wrong does not excuse the other, but it may help to explain the Soviet attitude. At any rate, the glare of publicity should be thrown on both evils, and this book does one part of that job very effectively.

Incidentally, historians may sometime be more interested in "One Great Prison" because of what it tells about the National Committee for a Free Germany than because of its account of horrors. WARREN B. WALSH

Books in Brief

THE BEST OF THE BEST SHORT STORIES, 1915-1950. Edited by Martha Foley. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75. This anthology of anthologized stories is heavily weighted in favor of the thirties and the forties: only four of the twenty-five stories included are drawn from the earlier volumes of the Best Short Story annuals. Logically enough, three of these four are Anderson's I'm a Fool, Lardner's Haircut, and Hemingway's My Old Man. The rest of the collection is a handy compendium of familiar stories of recent years—some of them too familiar—with a nod to almost every taste. There are inferior examples of Kay Boyle and William Faulkner, but there are also Jean Stafford's agonizing ode to pain, The Interior Castle, and Walter Van Tilburg Clark's superb The Wind and the Snow of Winter.

THE FORESTS OF THE NIGHT. By Jean-Louis Curtis. Translated by Nora Wydenbruck. Putnam. $3.50. A Goncourt Prize novel of small-town life in France during the Nazi occupation, with some of the sardonic quality that has won Marcel Aymé international audiences. Curtis views Resistance workers, Vichyites, and neutralists with a gently mocking eye that is peculiarly French and admirably suited to his subject. Although his fangs are not as sharp as Aymé's, and his story deteriorates suddenly into melodrama, he is adept at both caricature and more profound revelations of character; and he is much more fun to read than those French novelists of his generation who seem to be translated because they take American mystery writers as models.

Art

MANNY FARBER

THE illusion of tragedy in Frederick Franck's works (Lilienfeld Galleries) convinced French critics that these were great examples of obsessed art. The tragedy, however, seems to me to be only skin deep. His scenes take place in the hours of the elves and deal with human suffering as it turns up in the form of all sorts of subjects from goats to clocks, from fairly settled landscapes to hallucinatory shots of half-nude abstract men running around madly with butcher knives and bouquets of candles. His dreamy imagery evolves decisively and suddenly out of a black background that suggests but does not show searching and struggling in an abyss. Along with the yellowish white patches in darkness which have become a trademark of the Ryder school, Franck uses enough other gimmicks to date him almost as a "modern" painter (Braque's cubistic apple with a small color fog around the edges, Ben Shawn's strung-up figure leaning to portside, Beckmann's slashes, and Picasso's split image). But despite the mannerisms, he paints pictures that have a touch of Houdini about them. There is a good deal of éclat and mystery in the surfaces, which have the effervescent waxiness of an old master plus the spotless neatness of a Dutch kitchen—but it is not clear how he arrived at so many contrasts. He places his subject—vertical and stark—in a rather corny lump somewhere in the center of the picture, so that your eyes can move around the sides of the lump without hitting anything that looks interesting. And yet the spaces at the sides divide and vary endlessly as few current New York paintings do. Franck seems to coast through every stage of a painting up to the last post, but then he closes with a dramatic kick. His skyscrapers are flimsy notations, but the last things he puts on them—windows, an overhead tunnel between buildings—are solid and flashy. If Franck dropped the mannerisms and discarded "suggestions" of depth, he would be free of mediocre notes in his work.

Why James N. Rosenberg spent a year in the Holy Land sketching and making mental notes for the eighteen studio-made landscapes at the Central Synagogue escapes me. An ardent Zionist, lawyer, and postcard realist make a combination that is bound to build a sincere and sentimental case for Israel even in his own backyard. He reveals the Holy Land as a mixture of the Imperial Valley and the Adirondacks, replete with the greenest M-G-M grass, olive trees that writhe and shake with life, and, overhead, hope in the form of sunlight bursting through a dark mass of clouds. He paints with a frozen brush stroke that makes the surfaces of his groves, forests, pipe lines, and hovels appear to be crawling with angle worms, all going in the same direction toward the upper-right corner of the picture. There are fortunately some homely, lively elements in his work that hark back to, of all people, C. S. Price and a few other sagebrush poets of canvas.

The American Abstract Artists—from Albers to Von Wicht—have put fifty paintings into a stodgy show at the New Gallery, dedicated to noiselessness, super-human control, and the beauty of the square. The point of these pictures seems to be the glorification of anonymity, all but four or five of the artists succeeding only too well. The best pictures: McNeil's black anchor held captive in a lurid blue surface (the only loud painting in the show);

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Von Wiegand's sparkling checkerboard with clusters of tiny checkerboards that suggest a meld of midget Mondrians; Bultman's frosting of white and black triangles that have all the constrained shock of Kootz Gallery painting; Blaine's busy welter of postcard images and color which looks like several dozen dirty saucers of milk slopping over.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

NEARLY everyone who saw—or better yet read—the first plays of Christopher Fry had the same reaction. There was an astonished delight with his really dazzling gift for words, and there was the hope that he would be able before long to find for that gift some more substantial use.

The gift has not been withdrawn. Fry continues to demonstrate that he can exploit better than any other modern what may be called the more purely entertaining possibilities of the neo-metaphysical style. Part of the charm is a youthful exuberance and his own frank astonishment at his copiousness and fluency. Another and related part is a certain self-mockery which leads one character to end a long harangue with an apology for his own inarticulateness and permits another, one of Fry's few common-sense personages, to interrupt a metaphysical discourse with the remark that we don't really need to go into all that just now. When still another observes that the Great Bear looks so geometrical that it ought to prove something, or that, since everybody is lost, the best we can do is to make whatever we are lost in seem as homelike as possible, then the amusement we experience must be remotely like that of an Elizabethan who met for the first time John Lyly and his "Euphues." But though Fry has kept this gift he seems to have made no progress whatsoever in discovering any way to use it for any larger purpose. His ostensibly dramatic speeches remain almost purely decorative. They do not exist in order to tell a story. On the contrary, the story exists only as an excuse for the speeches.

One after another his plays have become more ambitious, more pretentious. But the unfortunate fact is that the result is only to demonstrate more clearly how little, as plays, they count for. "A Phoenix Too Frequent," being no more than the retelling of a familiar anecdote, was for that very reason sufficient apology for its own insubstantiality. "The Lady's Not for Burning," inventing its own fable, promised more and succeeded tolerably in fulfilling its promise, partly because it was simple, fanciful, and sufficiently fantastic in its premises not to insist upon being taken any more seriously than one felt inclined to take it. But "Venus Observed" (Century Theater) attempts something which the author, so far at least, is simply not capable of accomplishing because it demands of the spectator a kind of credence which he cannot possibly give it. The scene is contemporary; the motives of the characters, instead of being purely fantastic, are uncomfortably close to something which one must take literally or not at all; and the characters themselves are too much like real people to express themselves suitably in Mr. Fry's artificial idiom.

The Theater Guild was evidently determined to give the play every chance. It provided two elaborate sets and engaged two popular performers, Rex Harrison and Lilli Palmer, to interpret the leading roles. One result is that in the beginning a certain confidence is inspired. But one's interest oozes slowly away as one begins to realize that, aside from amusing turns of speech, one is being given nothing but a commonplace story told less effectively than it could be told by the simple melodramatic methods which have been used to tell it on the stage again and again. No rococo decoration supplied by the language or the other incidental, often rather pretentious, elaborations can conceal the fact that this story is nothing except that old standby of sensational sentimental fiction which involves a beautiful young girl in love with a young man but feeling compelled to accept the attentions of an old one because he has what used to be called "a hold over her"—in this case, as so many times before, inhering in the fact that our heroine's father has been guilty of certain peculations which the unwelcome suitor can expose.

Mr. Fry employs a variety of devices in his attempt to make all this seem more meaningful and less banal than it is. The old suitor is a noble Don Juan about to retire from his amorous hobbies and to take up astronomy. The young lover is his own son, and the erring father of the heroine is a comic

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secretary to the Don Juan whose timid embezzlements the victim would never dream of using for the purposes which the distressed heroine believes herself about to become the victim of. The real substance of the play is, I imagine, supposed to be the elaborately developed and constantly changing sentimental perplexities of the heroine, treated in a manner which suggests that Mr. Fry has been reading too attentively recent French plays like "Legend for Lovers." But the more elaborate these sentimental perplexities become, the less real and the less interesting they are, until long before the last curtain descends, the spectator has come to the point where he is more eager to reach some conclusion than concerned over what the conclusion will be. Up to the very end the author continues to send up occasional skyrockets of words, but one has completely lost hope that even they will illuminate anything.

One deduction seems inevitable. Whatever the solution of Mr. Fry's problem may be, it is not to be found in the conventionally realistic play. For all its fantastic elements, "Venus Observed" has already gone too far in that direction.

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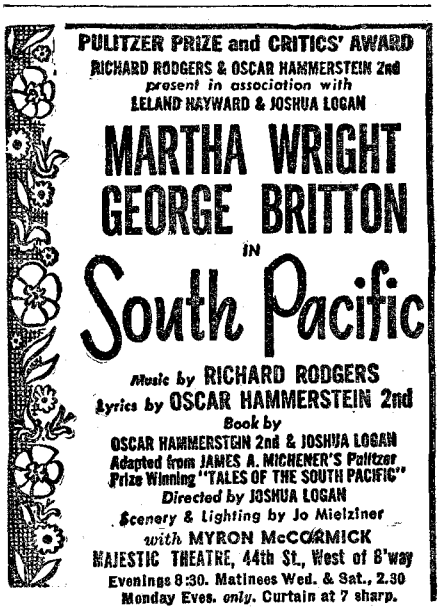
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Ballet

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE had thought that in "The Four Temperaments" Balanchine's elaboration of the classical ballet idiom had gone as far as it could go; but it is carried even further in his new piece, "Caracole" (previously entitled "Divertissement Classique"), to Mozart's Divertimento K.287—and specifically in the second movement, where Mozart's own elaboration of his musical theme in the series of variations invites the succession of astoundingly complex, brilliant, and beautiful solos which exploit the individual capacities and styles of Wilde, Hayden, Adams, LeClercq, Eglevsky, and Tallchief, and which they execute in breathtaking fashion. There is superb invention also for the great Adagio movement of the Divertimento —invention which is exciting to look at, but which, for the first time in my experience, doesn't seem to me to go with, or work with, the music in the way the dance movement does with the music of the Andante of "Concerto Barocco" or "Sinfonie Concertante"—the way of an added counterpoint, with music and dance movement enlarging each other's effect and meaning. The Adagio of the Divertimento is a long solo aria with a continuous flow which, for me, is disturbed by the shift from one supported dancer to another for each new musical phrase; also, some of the activity seems to me excessive for the sustained melodic style of the music. But the opening Allegro for the soloists (who include Magallanes and Robbins in addition to those I have mentioned) and corps is charming, the Minuet for corps alone delightful, the finale a crescendo of spectacular and joyous brilliance, the piece as a whole one of the major Balanchine products. It uses the costumes, without the decor, of "Mozartiana," which I would like to see in that "sunny masterpiece" once more.

Balanchine is charmingly inventive again in the different style and smaller scale of "Bayou," which reflect the style and scale of the engaging "Acadian Songs and Dances" from Virgil Thomson's music for "Louisiana Story." And as always the piece is well contrived for the dancers involved—Moncion, Breckinridge, Hayden, Laing, Adams, and Bliss. For this one there are excellent scenery and costumes by Dorothea Tanning.

Robbins provides no explicit program for his new "Ballade" to music of Debussy; but as in his other ballets there are the moment at the beginning when the people on the stage turn and look meaningfully at someone who looks back at them and then leaves the stage, and the similar moment at the end; and these confirm one's impression from other details that in this piece again Robbins is saying something about human life as he has been thinking about it. The important thing again, however, is not what he says on this subject, but the dance terms in which he says it; and these I found unimpressive, except for a superbly contrived and superbly executed dance for Reed and Tobias.

The New Music Quartet's performance of Beethoven's Opus 131 at the Y. M. H. A. was highly agreeable to the ear and satisfying to the mind, and also free of the high-tension quality that had disturbed me in the recorded performance of Opus 59 No. 3. But having thought the question of the acoustic quality of the Y auditorium had been settled by the dry sound there of the violins of the Quartetto Italiano, I found it unsettled again by the clear radiance of the violins of the New Music Quartet. The only explanation that has occurred to me is that the hall was only half-filled this time.

As for recordings of chamber music, all six of the Mozart quartets dedicated to Haydn are played by the Roth Quartet on three Mercury LP's; and having hoped for performances as fine, in the literal sense of the word, as the one of K.464 which the Roth Quartet recorded for Columbia seventeen years ago, I was disappointed and shocked by the fussy inflection, the constant swelling and contracting of sonority, the crude accentuation that I heard most of the time. In addition the recorded

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sound is edged and otherwise not agreeable; and there is a little distortion in the finales of K.464 and 465.

The performance of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet by the Koeckert Quartet on a Decca record is effective for the most part—my major reservation being about the very slow statement of the "Death and the Maiden" theme and the changes of tempo in the subsequent variations (the Andante con moto and alla breve directions indicate a faster initial tempo which could be maintained throughout the movement). The recorded sound, when it is bright enough, is unpleasantly coarse; and at times—the latter half of the first movement, the scherzo movement—it isn't bright enough.

Verdi's Quartet, in which he amused himself and charms us with an exercise of the mastery in instrumental writing and the subtle harmonic sense that we hear in the later operas, is the more engaging for the playing of the Quartetto Italiano on the London record—its lightness and grace, its delicacy and sensitiveness employing its fine gradations of extraordinarily blended tone. Schumann's Opus 41 No. 2 is on the reverse side. The playing is superbly reproduced except for a dryness which seems to be characteristic of London recording of strings—as the warmth and luster of the sound of the recent Paganini Quartet performance of Beethoven's Opus 132 are characteristic of RCA Victor.

CORRECTION: My opening sentence about Vivaldi's concertos last week included the statement: "a fourth, the Concerto in G major for strings and cembalo, I find interesting." This should have read: "I find less interesting."

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

An Unholy Alliance

Dear Sirs: Mr. Kim in *The Nation* of February 9 has advocated some concrete and helpful suggestions for a Korean settlement. However, both he and Mr. Lattimore have overlooked the principal obstacle to Korean unification. The way will not be clear for a peaceful settlement until the unholy alliance between Rhee and Washington is broken. In fact, any over-all settlement in Asia will be impossible as long as the United States persists in supporting the most reactionary and unpopular elements in the East.

DAVID SHAINE

New York

Good Intentions Not Enough

Dear Sirs: In my article in the February 9 issue of *The Nation* I stated that "more energetic action might have been looked for from the liberal Governor Adlai Stevenson." Despite the letter in your March 1 issue from some distinguished citizens of Illinois, this statement still appears to me to be true.

1. As admitted in the letter "the tragic fact is that the Cairo school board has been breaking the state law for years in maintaining segregated public schools." Despite the fact that this has occurred for four years of Governor Stevenson's administration, the Cairo schools have continued to receive over $200,000 annually from state funds in violation of the Jenkins amendment, which provides that no common-school funds will be granted to any school district that fails to comply with the requirement that "no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any school on account of his color, race, or nationality." The State Superintendent of Public Instruction has the statutory responsibility for the enforcement of this law. Although he is an elective officer, he must report to the Governor, and the Governor has the responsibility to see that the law is enforced.

2. As admitted in the letter "there was violence and there still is high tension in the community. For this many are to blame and probably no governor and no official commission can do enough." To admit that not enough has been done would seem to agree with my assertion that "more energetic action might have been looked for." Certainly the Cicero riots have given the state warning that racial violence could erupt at a moment's notice unless forthright steps to deal with the whole problem were taken swiftly. The Governor, as chief law-enforcement agent of the state, has this responsibility.

3. On February 7 eight persons spearheading a movement to break down segregation in Cairo were arrested and charged with conspiracy to "endanger the life and health of certain children." These persons included the president of the Cairo branch of the N. A. A. C. P., two N. A. A. C. P. field secretaries, a doctor whose home was blasted, a white attorney who had been handling legal aspects of the case, and Negro community leaders. It is of course true that the Governor can neither indict nor quash indictments. But the writers of the letter upholding Governor Stevenson give the Governor and his commission credit for the arrest of four white persons in the community. If they could influence issuance of indictments against these persons, it would seem to follow that they should have been able to prevent the travesty of justice involving the N. A. A. C. P. officials.

4. On February 14 N. A. A. C. P. leaders met with an Illinois legislative

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committee which included a representative of the Governor and the general counsel for the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Our report of those proceedings indicates that Mr. Hudson, the general counsel, claimed that he had no power to do anything in the matter. As George Leighton, Chicago attorney, who spoke as representative of the national office of N. A. A. C. P., said, "We consider it an insult to attend a meeting dealing with a matter so important only to be confronted by evasive attempts on the part of the responsible official stating that in substance he can do nothing about a case that has attracted nation-wide attention." Once again it would appear that "more energetic action" might have been taken by Governor Stevenson.

5. The statement attributed to Russell Babcock, Director of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations was one that appeared in reports received from people on the scene.

6. No effort was made in my article to suggest that Governor Stevenson and the Illinois Commission were bigoted or personally sympathetic with racial violence in Cairo. I personally believe them to be well intentioned, but the facts would seem to demonstrate conclusively that although no sins of commission were committed, responsibilities for omissions must rest upon the Governor and his agencies. They might have secured the enforcement of the Jenkins amendment long before any violence took place. They might have had adequate state police on hand to prevent terror and intimidation. The Illinois Commission on Human Relations might have helped prepare the community for the transfers and held meetings and consulted with public officials at the time of the violence. Certainly they did not display the kind of eternal vigilance that is the price of freedom.

LEONARD SCHROETER

New York

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Prisoners of Fear

Dear Sirs: Hannah Bloom's The Law of Diminishing Returns in *The Nation* of December 29 and Burnham P. Beckwith's letter which appeared in your letters column on January 19 are characteristic of what Justice Douglas describes as "the black silence of fear." They reflect his apprehension over our "drifting in the direction of repression" and succumbing to fear. Justice Douglas sees our minds put under a sort of undeclared martial law which sets off a chain reaction of fears. America seems to be gripped in an ever-tightening vise of fear bordering on the pathological. Unreasoning fear dominates our thinking and our opinions, giving rise to doubt and suspicion.

Psychologically, a mass or hysterical fear of a threat is as dangerous as the threat itself. In mass hysteria the rational sense for collective security is paralyzed and overpowered by the irrational impulse for self-protection, which leads to confusion and disunity.

The crucial test in a challenge to a free society is its ability to maintain the proper relationship between its free institutions and the threat it faces. Any emotional imbalance capable of shifting responsibility or exaggerating the danger at the expense of those institutions is bound to weaken their power and make the danger greater than it actually is.

Paradoxically, we seem to be lapsing into a vicious circle of trying to allay fear by restricting freedom, which in turn generates more fear, resulting in a kind of weakening self-flagellation—transforming symptoms into a disease. Instead of meeting the critical situation with positive, constructive remedies we use a negative approach to a solution by questioning the loyalty of our citizens and muzzling all unorthodox opinions. It has become increasingly clear that once we embark on a program of screening and licensing thoughts, the state of mind which leads to these conditions breeds the private Gestapo, the informer, and star-chamber procedure.

The prospect of economic or social ostracism as the wages of iconoclasm drives many into the comfortable shelter of protective orthodoxy, leaving them confined within the narrow cell of stereotyped attitudes, oblivious of the fact that heresies have contributed greatly to the growth of civilization.

Philadelphia MAX BISER

A Peace Directory

Dear Sirs: The pioneer edition of "USA Peace Directory" (1951) listed 340, and gave references to names and addresses of 3,000 additional, peace committees in the United States. All peace organizations and peace committees which issue peace-action releases or publications are requested to send their material to the U. S. Committee Against Militarization, 6329 South May Street, Chicago 21, so that we can list them in the 1952 supplement.

Chicago ALBERT BOFMAN

Correction

In Josue de Castro's article The Malthusian Scarecrow in *The Nation* for February 16, in the sentence "If only 20 per cent of the uncultivated arable land in Africa and South America were plowed and planted, we should have 9,000,000,000 more acres producing food," the figure should have been 900,000,000; and in the sentence "Development of 10 per cent of the arable land in Russia and Canada now untilled would mean an additional 3,000,000,000 acres," the figure should have been 300,000,000.

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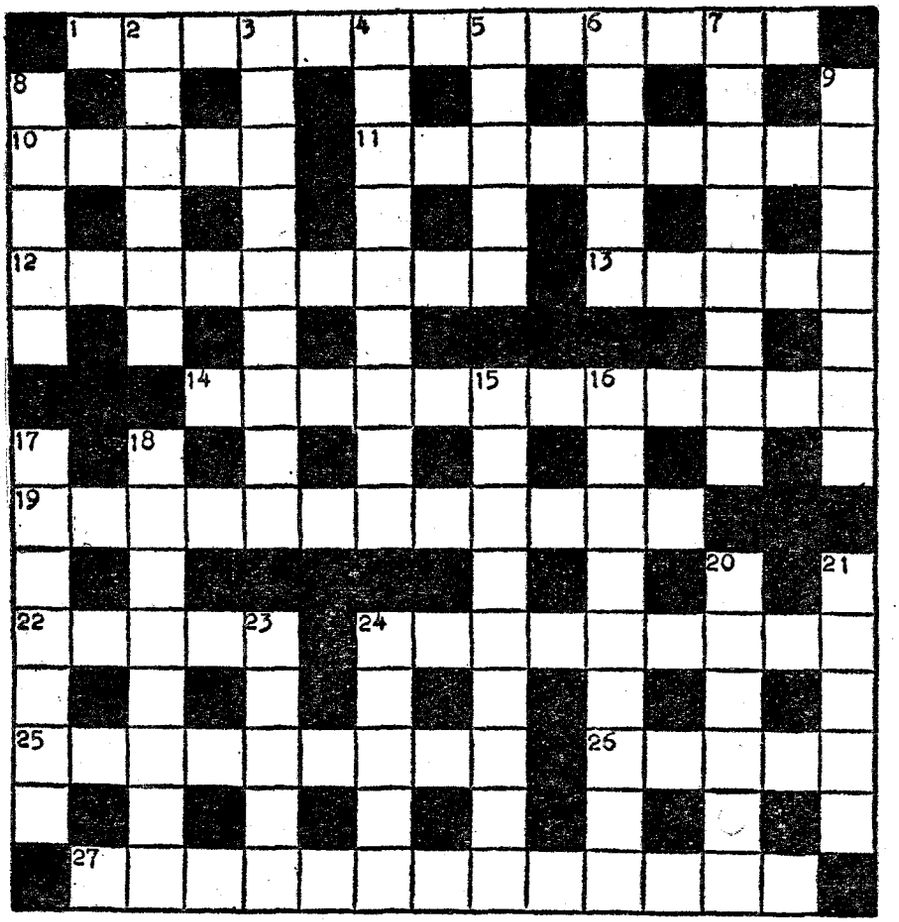
Crossword Puzzle No. 455

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Making light packages? (6, 7)
10 Light on the range for some? (Look in mine for it.) (5)
11 There's no holding such things if not skilled about 10. (9)
12 He's free in the railroad to get a pick-me-up. (9)
13 and 2 down. Carl Mydans and Noel F. Busch work on it—their daily bread, in fact. (5, 2, 4)
14 Implying the quartet has a rosy glow, but not sincerely so. (12)
19 Knocking nothing out of something? (12)
22 These bands frequently contain a 23. (5)
24 An agreement at a revolutionary battleplace? Quite the reverse. (9)
25 He might have control over the will, but makes us great or otherwise. (9)
26 Y-clept. (5)
27 Indulged in by the anti-TVA lobby? (5, 8)

DOWN

2 See 13 across.
3 Where to find the work mixed? And in trouble, too! (2, 3, 4)
4 Who's at the bottom of this clumsiness? My dear! (9)
5 Like a mountain hotel, perhaps. (5)
6 Beside the point, when it comes to money! (5)
7 Do they come right after L-brackets? (8)
8 No wood left after the second delivery! (5)
9 Flesh is bad for the egocentric. (7)
15 What to do with it? Candy for cake. (5, 4)
16 Unbelievable beginning in verse form? (Some women are beneath such things!) (9)
17 Is speech just a habit of modern times? (7)
18 This sort of race is no problem for those responsible for the plot. (8)
20 The first man I see seems to be a writer. (6)
21 With mankind, man is the proper one. (5)
23 This is hard, if not up in points. (5)
24 Scalp trouble might be implied in one of 7. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 454

ACROSS:—4 ACCIDENTS; 9 COMMOTION; 10 NOUNS; 11 INSULATES; 12 LOOSE; 13 POLO PONIES; 17 CIRCASSIAN; 22 IMAGINING; 23 EMEER; 24 TROCADERO; 25 SENSELESS; 26 EVOKE.

DOWN:—1 PICNIC; 2 REMISS; 3 and 1 across SPOILSPORTS; 5 CONESTOGA WAGONS; 6, 4 down and 21 DON'T LOOK A GIFT HORSE IN THE MOUTH; 7 NEUROTIC; 8 SUSPENSE; 14 SCAMPERS; 15 FRAULEIN; 16 WAR HORSE; 18 PIRATE; 19 PINERO; 20 IGNORE.

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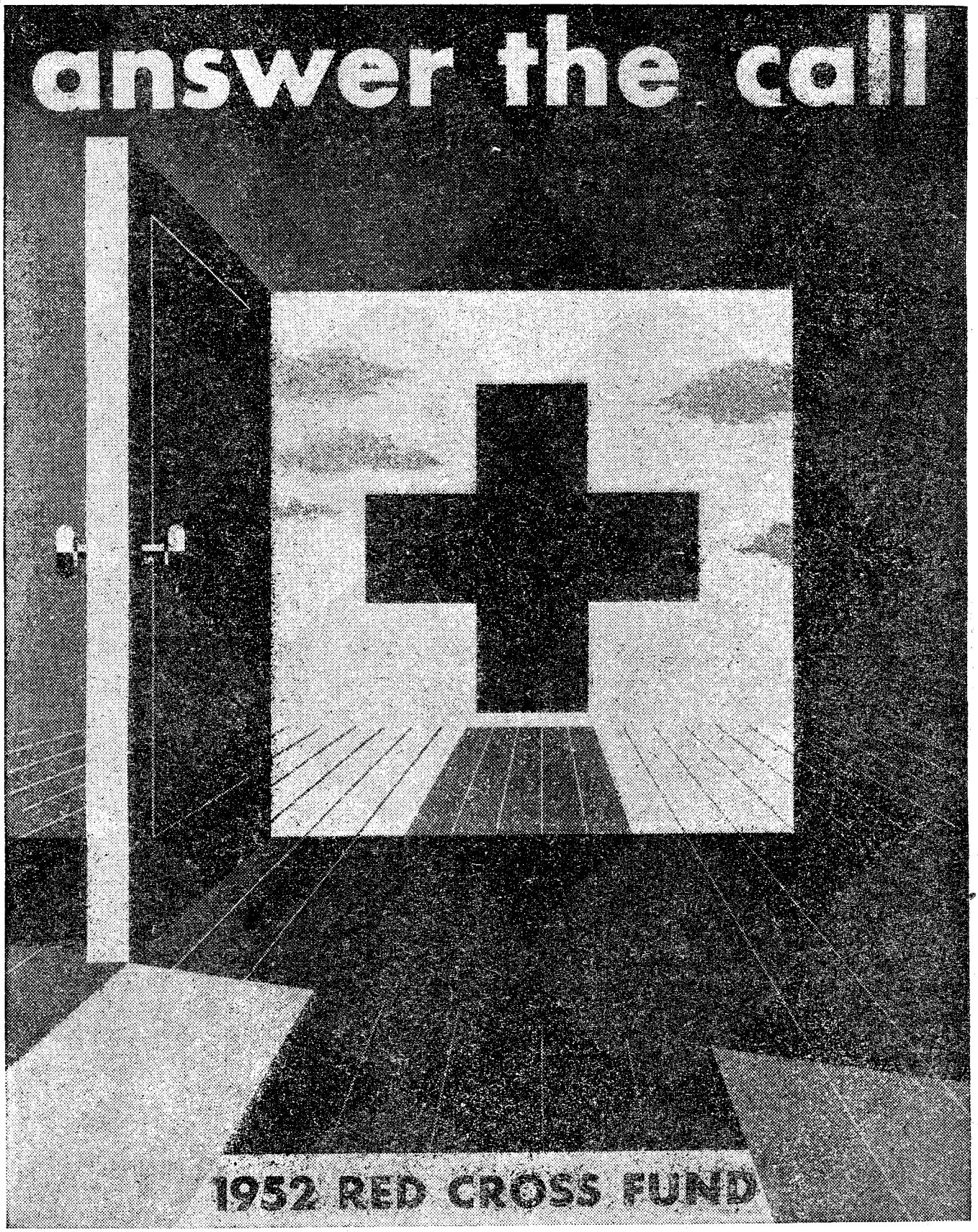

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